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ABSTRACT

This manual provides guides to assist consultants discover, create, and maintain meaningful changes in secondary schools. Among the change issues discussed are the politics of educational racism, youth oppression, and professionalism; and patterns of conflict. To assist in the retraining of consultants in the processes and strategies of change, the manual incorporates training episodes that focus on (1) values and goals of the change agent, (2) risk and commitment, (3) client making and contracting, (4) strategy development for school diagnosis, (5) team or cadre selection and training, and (6) following activities. Related documents are EA 004 669 and EA 004 670. (Author/JF)

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RESOURCES FOR SCHOOL CHANGE: I.
A Manual on Issues and Programs
in Training Educational Change

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**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Educational Change Team
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Resources for School Change II: A Guide to School
Administrators.

Resources for School Change III: A Manual on Issues and
Strategies in Resource Utilization

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I. Introduction to School Change

The purpose of this manual is to help consultants discover, create and maintain meaningful changes in secondary schools. Our view is that most schools are doing less than they can for our young. Many schools are failing them rather completely, generally creating uncomfortable and fruitless learning environs and further alienating minority youth. This need not necessarily be the case, we think. But a lot must change if schools are to improve and those changes will be difficult. One reason it will be difficult is that people already in the school, especially adults, find it hard to make important changes. They will need help from a variety of people if they are to contribute to the change process. Consultants--from within the local community or from outside--will be called upon to lend aid to our troubled schools. Some consultants are ready and able to help; others will need to be brought up to date, to be retrained, in order to deal successfully with the current issues in schools. In this manual we try to provide such consultants with guides for their own reflection and action, guides that may assist anyone in creating schools less oppressive to the young, less racist, and less dismal as environs for learning.

The School Scene

Patterns of serious interracial and intergenerational conflict are common in high schools across the nation. Crises and disruptions in the conduct of school affairs now are commonplace and many schools are local arenas of unresolved controversy, anger and despair. Even where violence has not occurred, serious alienation from learning and distrust among school members has characterized life in many schools. Often the roots of these conflicts lie within the structure of the school itself; at other times they are rooted in or promoted by factors in the local and national community. Whatever the specific form or cause in each case, the number and severity of such incidents publicizes the deep-seated failures of our schools.

Although information on the national scope of school conflict and crisis is incomplete, there are many indications that it is pervasive and continuing. Recent newspapers and magazine articles continue to report and wonder about student action and administrator reaction, and protests and disruption occur in cities and towns throughout the nation. Some high schools have undergone a series of disruptions; particular buildings have had to close several times over the course of a school year. In some months there seem to be many disruptions, and a great deal of overt warfare. At other times students appear to go underground with their concerns and little explosive tension may be seen.

Crises at different schools often take very similar forms. High schools are quite alike across the nation and both youth and adults are subject to fairly similar social environs. To the degree that the media publicize student demands and tactics they help transmit information to many separate locales. We have here no set of local and temporary episodes, but a fundamental reaction by youth to the defects of the institution society has established for their protection and advancement.

In many communities white students and minority students or white educators and minority students are engaging in multiple forms of resistance, rejection or warfare. The racist structures of American education create and perpetuate the lines of general social injustice and unrest. Our schools have inadequately served minority communities by failing to provide black, brown or yellow students with the technical skills and social and economic opportunities garnered by most white and middle class students. Whites' control of the educational profession insures that white interests are served, but that same control derogates black and brown and other minority interests to a secondary level. Professionalism, which carries an assumption of expertise steeped in tradition, promotes the dominant culture's values and traditions regarding standards and norms of achievement. Thus, the school's failure to be effective with plural cultures and styles is rationalized by professionals as the fault of student or parent deviance or disability.

Protests against white cultural coercion and the estrangement of minority students and communities from their schools often focus on key educational and political symbols. The absence of black and brown, poor

or urban foci in the curriculum is a common source of concern to members of those groups. Similarly the school flag, anthem, cheerleading system, student government and other symbols of the institution are typically quite unrepresentative of the school's actual diversity. The financial structure of local schooling also reflects the racist and class biases of public services, providing costly but unequal services to poor and minority communities. Staffing patterns and the attitudes of teachers and administrators often indicate an inability or unwillingness to eradicate racism within the educational system. Students unprepared for intergroup association and confined by school procedures often act on the above concerns by fighting with each other, by attacking the most accessible targets of cultural difference and conflict, rather than by focusing on the racist structure of school and society.

Yet there are many examples of school tensions and disruptions not overtly triggered by nor focused on racism or racial relations. These phenomena, which are marked by confrontations between students and adults regardless of race, may be occurring in even greater, though less newsworthy, fashion. Many students chafe at the restrictive controls and narrow curricula presented in school. Petty regulations, coercive policies regarding style and fashion, fake student governance systems and unilateral instructional patterns are all reflective of youth's exclusion from influential roles in high school. They also demark the cultural distance between many youth and their schools and school staffs. These obvious symbols of exclusion and impotence are further exacerbated by the mutual distrust and sometimes disrespect and fear that characterize student-staff relations in many schools. Adult professionalism denies students formal influence on the course of their schooling and thereby promotes apathetic withdrawal and passive obedience. Greatly heightened moves for student autonomy and independent learning also represent efforts to escape the overwhelming regulation of school life. Protests against this control system often focus on the unequal distribution of power and decision-making opportunities among school groups.

It is common now to refer to the overt disruption of school as a crisis. However, the definition of a crisis--by school administrators--in terms of the breakdown of "normal" day-to-day school operations hinders a broad understanding which might create imaginative and profound

solutions. For many students who experience racism, irrelevance, failure and even brutality in their school encounters, crises and disruptions are a continuing part of their educational life. Thus, a comprehensive view and treatment of school "crises" necessitates response to a variety of student, teacher, administrator and community frustrations. Usually failure and frustration are not recognized or admitted until the overt signs of disorder have appeared--a boycott is underway, a school is closed or police are brought in, facilities are taken over, or students and adults have been injured in fighting. Emotional turbulence and polarization of opinion then heighten the prior feelings of helplessness and fear or anger. Under such conditions it is hard to do anything but "cool" the crisis and restore order. But this is not what really is needed; it is illusory to think that issues, energies and passions then will fade away.

It is our conviction that a more useful perspective demands examination of the situation to locate forces that can be mobilized, encouraged and organized for meaningful change in school. Our perspective on school crises is to see them as not only threats but as opportunities, opportunities to acknowledge failure, to take stock, to mobilize new resources and to begin meaningful although overdue school change programs. While crisis often generates panic and repression, skilled interventions may help create more imaginative responses and effective changes in schools.

The maintenance of order without recognition of the inevitability of differences and conflicts is impossible in a complex heterogeneous institution. Conflicts between various groups in school are natural and normal; they are an inevitable result of the nature of different interests, values, group characteristics, etc., and usually represent differences in group goals and situations. They are also the result of a school's interaction with a rapidly changing society, and the strains and pressures that result from such interdependence. Even a well managed high quality educational organization can expect differing priorities and preferences between professionals and lay persons, teachers and administrators, educators and students, blacks and browns and whites, college bound students and non-college bound students, etc. Sometimes groups

with differing priorities and conflicts form coalitions and collaborate with one another successfully. At other times and places, and with certain issues, the normal and healthy conflict among such groups begins to create serious personal or organizational stress. The inability of different groups and the school organization to accept and articulate natural conflicts, and the inadequate means for coping with them, leads to system overload and potential breakdown. When established procedures are able no longer to adjudicate different interests or handle strong stress the system may fail to operate and a state of "crisis" said to exist. The crisis or breakdown itself is only a symptom of system stress; for healthy organizational change conflicting groups must be aware of their demands, be aware of legitimate and illegitimate compromises and be able to negotiate or unilaterally implement changes.

The Need for Change

These observations have important implications for change programs. Most organizational change efforts assume that if group members understood each others' needs and could communicate better with one another, the problems of inefficiency and satisfaction would be resolved. This sole focus on a "consensus" orientation to organizational life fails to deal with important and legitimate differences in groups' goals and interests. It is falsely assumed that clarity leads to agreement and to universal dedication to the organization's mission. Since our experience indicates inherent conflict between many organizational groups, we have come to believe that while open communication may be healthy, it does not necessarily resolve differences or conflicts. In some cases it may even intensify them. In our view, it is necessary to enable different groups to organize and to express their interests clearly and rationally, so that they can negotiate with other groups to achieve organizational change. Then there is the possibility that continuous negotiations and collaboration with others on important changes can respond effectively to the ongoing differences and conflicts within the institution. Continuing negotiations and the formation of coalitions represent the process of integration in a complex organization composed of different interest groups.

But this sequence of events does not happen very easily. Most school systems, and indeed most social organizations, are not prone to undertake meaningful change without political pressure of some sort. In recent years student-generated, minority-led or community-initiated protest and disruption have created substantial movement for change in our public schools. They have also created panic, fear and anger on the part of some adults, educators and students. Pressure and crisis may contain the impetus for change, but positive change does not necessarily follow; retreat or repression are as likely. Part of our concern is to help students and adults, majority and minority members, discover how to make use of their disaffection to inhibit oppression and injustice, to eradicate racism, and to attain a higher quality educational system.

The utilization of crises as entry points for meaningful educational reform may lead to longer range change designs of a fundamental character. But if crises are to be seen as openings for meaningful reform, then three strategic perspectives (and attendant models and techniques) should be developed and employed sequentially. These perspectives involve immediate alternatives in crisis, middle-range strategies for school change, and long-range models of change. Our views of school change at all these stages are plural; different strategies and models may be utilized in different circumstances.

It is crucial that immediate alternatives exist in the midst of crises. Highly charged feelings of anger and righteousness, threat and terror confound all parties' intentions and energies for school change. Interventions in crisis situations can aim at the stabilization or reduction of escalating tensions so that attention can be paid to underlying issues. But all immediate efforts must be followed by plans for continuing change and reform. Otherwise, crisis reduction without ongoing change will fail to address continuing problems in school structures and operations. Interventions in the midst of crisis hold the beginnings of meaningful change, but all too often such beginnings come to an end with the reduction of crisis and the press of daily routine. It is essential, therefore, that post-crisis perspectives, strategies and models of middle and long-range change be developed more fully and implemented rapidly.

Middle range strategies are those that have some staying power over time and that hold promise for the initiation of fundamental change in schools. The aim in these strategies is not to de-escalate tension nor to begin a dialogue, but rather to create and implement coalitions that mobilize programs leading to new resources and structures for school change. Common examples of programs include workshops and training sessions that teach new problem solving skills or techniques of organizing constituency groups. New organizational procedures that permit and encourage greater reciprocal influence between adults and students often can be implemented in this context.

Long-range strategies are based on images of possible and desirable future models of educational systems. These strategies require fundamental change in schools but hold the promise of major increases in educational quality and growth. Many of these models and strategies are yet to be fully developed and tried, but some important examples follow:

1. New systems of norms and organization which eliminate racism in financing, in staff selection and training, in school organization and operation, in curriculum and instruction, and in peer interaction.
2. New internal decision-making structures in which students, faculty and local administrators have more direct control over management of their common life. As well, new patterns of external community influence in school affairs which would make available additional community resources to the goal of quality education.
3. Revision of the secondary school program so it may be a positive element in the creation of new learning systems. Especially important would be curricula and work experiences relevant to teaching and learning about the realities of racism and ethnicity, for dealing with the politics of school life, and for gaining experience with career goals.
4. Developing new roles and the scrapping of some old roles in order that the learning system can be fundamentally altered. This would demand rearranging time and content priorities in order that learners can act as teachers of their peers, that teachers can act as co-learners, that principals can act as educational leaders, etc.

5. Free schools or "counter" schools which operate outside of the traditional educational structure. By their example these systems can have major impact on typical schools and represent a hedge against the possibility that traditional schools will collapse completely.

The choice of immediate, middle or long-range strategies used in a particular local situation is indeterminate in the abstract. That decision can be made best by local educators and students, perhaps assisted by various consultants. There is no single strategy that is automatically best or preferred.

How are we to implement such new processes and structures? Where are the human resources to provide the skill and courage needed for such innovations? How does one develop these resources? These are some of the key questions we expect to speak to in this manual.

The Need for People to Act as Change-Agents

If changes of this magnitude and breadth are to take place, many new resources must be engaged. Educators must begin to define their roles in ways that involve a conscious move towards change agency in schools. It is archaic to define the role of the administrator or teacher simply as the ongoing manager of the school or classroom. Far more creative, and clearly demanded by the times, is the concept of the educational manager as liberator of others' resources, as creator and director of organizational change, and as reformer of schools. These roles will require special preparation in 4 areas: 1) broad diagnostic perspectives on school characteristics and conflicts; 2) skills in system change agency; 3) considerable personal clarity and courage; and 4) ability to develop internal systems for educational and political support of needed changes.

Educators who elect to be strong advocates of school improvement can expect to encounter resistance from forces desiring to maintain the status quo or the priority of their own particular interests. School faculties, portions of the student body and the community, senior administrators and boards of education may all feel adversely affected by needed change. The risks to one's security and tenure are considerable, and an educator who intends to alter or innovate around established

traditions cannot afford to be naive about the stakes.

Students and community members also need to define new roles for themselves, roles that press for influence and that advocate needed changes in school. Passive recipients of service are limited to whatever professionals provide; active influencers may help determine the nature and quality of services available. Similar skills to those noted above are required, and similar forms of resistance may be anticipated. In addition, however, the activity of lay people, or clients, often are suspect and inadequate from the viewpoint of the professional, and it will be more difficult for students and community members to assert a base of legitimate power and challenge.

New partnerships between educators and their clients or consumers are essential. But such collaboration or coalitions will occur only after educators demonstrate their own commitment to alter the current forms of schooling. In the preparation for such commitment, in the development of new skills, in the articulation of partnerships, and in the making of changes all parties in school may require the assistance of skills consultants in change agency. The nature of such consultant resources, and the how and why of their development and delivery is treated in the next chapter.

II. Consultation in School Conflict and Change

The issues in school conflict often are too complex and deep-seated for local combatants to settle by themselves. Some input--information and perspectives, skills and techniques, or power and organization--may be needed from new sources. One of the rapidly growing new resources in human welfare systems is the consultant, a person trained in human and organizational change who can aid the change process. In this chapter we review some of the common issues and concerns schools and consultants or change-agents face when they work together. First, we examine some of the ways in which a consultant typically comes into a school or community, and some issues he or she must keep foremost in mind. Then we review some of the traditional roles consultants have played in school change efforts, and the assumptions on which these roles or new ones need to be based. The kinds of help schools really do require in order to improve have major implications for change-agent skills, roles and styles. The history of consultant roles, and training for those roles, has left some areas of major importance undeveloped, and as a result consultants simply are not useful to as broad and partisan a range of school parties as they should be. The need for retraining change-agents is also addressed in this chapter, and this discussion leads the way to the retraining activities described in the remaining portions of the manual.

Calls for Help

The request for consultant or change-agent services may be made in a variety of ways. It may come through the mail, on the telephone or via a personal contact or referral. It may come from any one of the contending parties in the school system--educators, citizens at large, students. In some cases the change-agent independently will decide to work with a system, to "make his own request," so to speak. This is always easier when he is a member of the system being changed, rather than an "outsider" being called in.

Since the request, and the consultant's response to that request mark the beginning of the change effort, it deserves our close attention. The way the call comes, the perspective with which it is listened to, and the responses made all affect the consultant's decisions and the outcomes of consequent change efforts.

One common avenue for requests is the telephone call from an administrative leader of a school or school system. Consider this conversation between an assistant superintendent of a medium-sized city and an educational consultant.

Superintendent's call

I am the director of secondary education for a city with eight high schools. Two of our schools, one almost all black and one racially mixed, had a lot of trouble this week. Thursday, 200 students at Abraham Lincoln, a school with 94% Negro students, walked out of classes in some sort of protest. They have a list of 14 grievances against what they call racism and racial discrimination on the part of the staff and the curriculum in the school. We saw this list before, some of them came to me with it, and I thought this had all been worked out. I saw them last week and the students agreed to wait until I could get together with the principal before doing something themselves. I wanted to give the principal and staff time to work out some new procedures.

This morning, Friday, the students came back into school and the leaders said they wanted a meeting with the principal on these demands. He said he would sit down with them as soon as they all got back to classes; the students said they wanted a discussion before they went back. Then the principal said that he'd have to call the police if they didn't either go to class or go home; y'know, he didn't want them hanging around school making trouble. So they left, and on the way out they rang the fire alarm and almost cleared the school out. I guess about 20-25% of the kids stayed in.

In the Theodore Roosevelt High School, a school with 10% Negroes, I guess they heard what happened yesterday. Even before school today some gangs of black students and white students started attacking each other as they got off the buses to enter the school grounds. Some staff members and the security forces managed to stop the fighting, but there is every indication of more trouble after school and on Monday.

The police chief insists on going into Roosevelt, especially should further trouble erupt at Roosevelt; his own son goes there and he's heard a lot about what the black students have been planning. Needless to say, parents have been calling our office all morning.

We need some help; the teachers need help working in these schools. I think if we could handle this racial stuff better we could get back to the business of education. I heard you are an expert in the area of conflict resolution.

Assume you are the consultant at the other end of the call: what would you say on the telephone right now? What questions would you ask? What more do you need to know about this person? The two schools? The principals? The staffs? The community? What next steps would you take? Who else would you call? What conditions, if any, would you set for next steps. As you consider these questions reflect on the following other forces acting on you.

Consultant's liberal conscience (Alter ego)

Let's not get involved in being a fink to kids and helping them get screwed by this system. There's obvious racism here and probably the administration must make a lot of changes. If we can get in, let's try for fundamental change in the school system, and not just pass over and suppress the issues.

Consultant's colleague or boss (Alter ego)

By all means stay within the "legitimate" definition of a consultant's role. Remember you may have to do some projects even if it's not doing exactly what you think is most important. If we can get into this system we may be able to create important change later on. Don't try for all the changes at once.

Since crisis situations are volatile and require immediate response, the above incident seems rather typical of such an emergency. Somewhat less of an emergency is evident in a different order of crisis, one reflected in letters indicating the continuing failure of a school or school system. Consider this unsolicited letter from a student experiencing a crisis in his school.

Dear Sir:

There is really not much I can say for my school except it's full of SHIT. The administration won't face facts that there has to be changes and changes now.

It would really take a long time for me to say everything wrong about my school, but honestly we need help. I was wondering if you could come up on some weekend so you guys could get some idea! There would be many people interested in hearing what you have to say. If it would be possible please contact me to let me know what's happening.

How does this letter strike you? How would you answer? What would you want to know from the writer? What would you want to know before deciding whether to "come up on some weekend?" If you did "come up," what would you do?

Any initial call for help must be considered within the context of each consultant's skills and values. That is why the questions noted above must be raised; any system in obvious conflict highlights the dilemma of whom and how the consultant should help. The facts that various parties do have different interests, and do want help in satisfying them, make it crucial for the consultant to know where he stands, what he can and cannot offer, whom he can and cannot serve. Some of these dilemmas can be specified by issues or questions we believe any consultant must confront when considering responding to a school's need or request.

Why have I chosen to consider intervening in this situation? Am I primarily concerned with making a good fee, with my reputation, with maintaining good linkages to school people, with providing a valued service, with contributing to better schools, with learning something from the situation? If not primarily concerned with one of these, what part does each play in my decision?

Am I an outsider or insider in this situation? If an outsider, what insiders can I contact and rely on? How do I make myself legitimate and not a "carpet bagger?" If an insider, how do I relate to other insiders who see me as friend or enemy? Are there outsiders I can contact for other perspectives and occasional input?

What are my loyalties in this politically potent situation? Do I feel my major loyalty is to those who requested this help, or to those who are paying me? Are they the same?

Is my loyalty to those in the greatest pain, or to those most oppressed, whomever they are? Is my loyalty to the total system or to some broad definition of quality education? How do I handle my own competing loyalties?

What are the particular skills I can contribute in this situation? Do I need to augment my skills with those of others? Is my race, status, sex or personal appearance and style likely to be an important issue?

To what extent am I clear and aware of my own values and aspirations in regard to the issues above (and in later design questions). Do I make certain decisions because they suit my values or primarily because they may work? Do I choose to work as a facilitator for the administration because that is the most effective strategy for meaningful change, or because of my other values or needs? Do I choose to work as a student or community advocate because that is the best strategy for change or because of my personal values or psychological needs?

Do I have an image now of where this system ought to be in the future? How flexible is this image? How willing am I to confront others' images?

To what extent do or can I share my concerns or questions about loyalties or values with the person or institution employing me? How open do I feel I want to be with them?

Am I willing to work with this system until it develops new organizational forms as responses to underlying issues? Or, do I have to get in and out quickly? How much investment do I have here?

No doubt all consultants behave in ways that indicate a continuing compromise between their personal values and loyalties and situational needs and possibilities. Nonetheless, it is critical for the consultant to be aware of his choices and why his decisions are made the way they are.

The differences between gratifying oneself and serving others are often unclear, especially when one's own needs are unknown. Unclearly makes it impossible to make sound strategic choices and leads to poorly advised clients or constituencies. It also leads to confusion about hard choices among competing interests and raises the danger of unintended cooptation of the consultant by powerful groups.

In addition to the consultant's identification of his own skills and values, each call or opportunity for help must be considered in the

context of local realities. Some diagnosis of the local situation must accompany or precede definitive action. Diagnoses may vary considerably in their extensiveness, their complexity, and in the issues investigated. Sometimes formal research instruments can be used, at other times brief diagnostic packages are best. Frequently extensive quantitative data turn out to be less relevant than the qualitative touch and feel of a school. Some of the vital questions and procedures that should be dealt with in a diagnosis are illustrated in Chapter IV of this manual. In order to even understand a call for help, however, some immediate information on the nature of the current crisis or situation is required.

A brief list of topical information that could help the change-agent orient himself should include the following:

Information About the Current Situation

1. What is the role and interests or values of the person contacting the consultant?
2. What parties are involved? What subgroups of students, faculty and community groups?
3. What are the apparent issues? What are the underlying issues?
4. What form has the protest or disruption taken?
5. Was there a specific event that triggered the crisis? If so, what was it? What other events or situations led up to the crisis?
6. What are the public reactions of the following major groups and their subgroups:
 - a. faculty
 - b. school board
 - c. administration
 - d. community
 - e. students
 - f. you, the contact person
7. Have the police been called in? If so, who made the decision to call them?
8. What has been done so far to deal with the crisis?
9. How was the decision made to call a consultant? What are various parties' hoped-for outcomes in calling him/me?
10. Whom can the consultant contact for additional information:
 - a. counselors
 - b. teachers
 - c. student leaders
 - d. administrators or school board members

With these or similar data in hand a consultant can begin to understand the turf he is standing on in considering a response to the school's request.

In some cases, both general and specific interpretations can be made from quantitative data. Although data from the local scene is always necessary, findings on schools in various communities do provide general insights. The following tables of data from our studies of high schools does highlight several issues consultants need to understand in school conflict situations.

Table 1*

Percentages of Students and Administrators who See Varying Degrees of Tension in School

How often would you say there is tension between students and the principal? (N=16 schools, 16 administrators and 3,000 students)

	Never	Seldom	Neutral	Often	Almost Always
Students	9%	20%	27%	22%	22%
Administrators	11%	67%	11%	11%	0%

Table 2*

Percentages of Black and White Students Who Perceive the Rules as Strict in Racially Mixed Schools

Schools identified by number	Percentage of Black Students	Percentage of White Students
1	63%	23%
2	44%	19%
3	47%	29%
4	46%	16%
5	54%	18%
6	44%	14%
7	55%	24%
8	36%	13%

Table one summarizes the responses of students and principals in 16 schools to a question about tension between students and the principal

*Table 1 is from page 4 and Table 2 from page 9 of "Facts and Feelings: High School Students, Teachers and Administrators Give Their Opinions," authored by the High School Research Project Staff of the Educational Change Team, University of Michigan, 1972.

of their school. Table 2 contains the responses of black and white students in 8 racially mixed schools to a question asking how strict are the rules in their school.

What do you see as you read these data? What do these data say about racism and the school's control of students? Are the responses that are summarized here what you would have predicted black and white students and administrators to be saying? Why? Or why not? What implications do these data have for how a change-agent could enter a school (the people to be worked with, the issues to be worked on, and ways of working)? Do these data have implications for selecting, future directions for your own learning and experience?

The questions raised in this section begin to indicate some of the complexities of the consultants' role and role choices. It is our feeling that traditional forms of consulting systematically have overlooked some major issues and that new kinds of change-agent roles are required for current school situations. Some illustrations of issues in consulting roles are addressed in the next section.

Consultant or Change-Agent Roles

Traditionally, professional educators have decided the content of the curriculum and the processes by which learning occurs. These professionals have had most of the power in the school, and felt well qualified to determine the skills, norms and values students should internalize in order to be called successful in school and afterwards as adults. When these persons face serious problems or crises in their schools they quite naturally reach out for help to others like themselves--to consultants who also are professionals, educated in the same universities, mostly white, and almost completely adult. The result is that consultants chosen by educators are likely to share somewhat similar perspectives on schools and schooling, race, change, youth and adults, etc. When it is also within the educator's power to hire or fire the change agent, to make him accountable to himself, he becomes the obvious client. Thus, the change-agent's loyalty to professional educators and educational managers usually is fairly well assured.

Consultants taking such roles often make certain assumptions about the school as a political organization: 1) that legitimate decision-making power should be with senior white professionals; 2) that groups of administrators, teachers and counselors should engage in dialogue and move toward a consensus and collaborative action on school diagnosis and change; 3) that the influence structure should run through a line filtering from the Board of Education through the central administration to the principal and his staff; and 4) that teachers should be informed and understanding of students' needs so they can plan and deliver an education helpful to students. In all these assumptions legitimate professional power, usually supported by a community power elite of whites integrally related to business and government, determines policy and sets the parameters within which school systems and individual schools operate.

Operating with these assumptions, consultants typically work directly with the managerial or administrative apparatus of the school. On occasion, other parties in the system are involved in diagnosing a problem and deciding on the appropriate strategies to be utilized. It is extremely rare for students to be involved as equal partners in this process. Sometimes they add their ideas or express their views, but seldom in a way that helps control the outcomes of planning. When change activities are conducted on this basis there is no reason to expect optimal change from the point of view of students and the community. The outcome is more likely to be optimal for administrators and other school professionals who are running the show.

It is obvious that this process of planned change is likely to be controlled in ways that assume a consensus around professional/managerial values and that tend to overlook conflicting organizational interests and practices. Our description of the school scene and needs for change has already touched on what we feel are major issues that should be dealt with by change agents concerned with basic organizational reform. To move from dealing with surface issues to those of underlying importance will require additional information and retraining for most practicing change-agents. We can identify 3 major areas of intellectual perspectives needed by consultants and which necessitate varying degrees of retraining: 1) schools as organizations, 2) the

role of partisanship in school change, 3) the existence of racism and the oppression of youth in high schools.

Schools are somewhat distinct from other social organizations because of their public, mandatory and professional character. For instance, the goal and objectives of public schools are multiple, vaguely stated and often conflictful. Such goal confusion and conflict has many side effects: educational rhetoric often differs from latent objectives and practices; contending constituencies inside and outside the school seek to control the priority among multiple goals in their partisan interest; there is a lack of clear and meaningful criteria against which to evaluate educational objectives and practices.

While the technology of many organizations--particularly industries and hospitals--is rather closely related to scientific development and utilization--such is not the case with schools. School activities which are the basis of teaching and learning are rooted in professional ritualism and tradition, with little modification by recent knowledge and values in human development and socialization. The effects of this pattern of ritualistic bureaucratization are: resistance to innovation; organizational lag with regard to social change in other institutions; and the maintenance of a professional stance with unexamined values and norms with regard to desirable practices.

The school is subject to competing interest groups arising from its multiple and vaguely stated goals and its varied activities. The fact of compulsory attendance means that students must come to the school as it is established and thus does not require educators to recognize students' own statements of their needs and values. The traditional and often cumbersome public bureaucracy often does not adapt quickly enough to the emerging needs and desires of competing interest groups. The result is that a superficial consensus of interests and values is imposed on the natural plurality of population, a practice which enables schools to deal with large numbers of youth in terms of the gross organizational and societal need for maintenance and uniformity of socialization.

In comparison to other complex organizations, schools have a structural looseness resulting from the existence of varied roles

which are not well integrated and which most often are performed in isolation. Since educational professionals are only minimally subject to performance and accountability reviews, they get little formal feedback on their work and patterns of institutional instruction are seldom integrated in a coherent curriculum. The separateness of each classroom means no one is quite sure what anyone else is really doing. The mantle of professional expertise means everyone assumes everyone else knows what they are doing and is doing it well.

Schools clearly are value-centric institutions seeking partisan social goals and operating internally on a partisan basis. All efforts at school consultation are partisan in their support of differential benefits and payoffs to different parties in the school. Yet, consultants who work in creating organizational change often do not view their work as partisan in character; they may view their work as non-partisan and value neutral in nature, or they may say the same thing in another way, alluding to a commitment to "higher quality education" and the "general welfare." Those words are only neutral until they are made concrete and specific; then they naturally lead to differential gain for various parties' values and interests. The rhetoric of neutrality stems from the historic development of professional consultation which saw change as a set of technical not political rearrangements, and the historic coalition of professional consultants with management roles and ideologies. It could be seen in this light because of professionals' common status base, common experience, and agreed upon ideologies concerning distribution of organizational power and rewards. Whatever the antecedents, consultants need to examine critically such assumptions about the partisan interests being served by their intervention and strategies for school change.

The character of organizational change in schools also demands that consultants understand the deep-seated issues and concerns of various contending groups. It is not nearly enough to understand conceptually and theoretically the general process and structures of organizations. The consultant must be able to understand and be in tune with the substantive issues affecting partisan groups. Even in some cases which may appear to be trivial in character, all issues

raised warrant in depth understanding in a way that not only convinces others, but the consultant himself of their importance. Such issues often are of highest priority and most pervasive concern to one or more parties to the conflict. Understanding partisan groups' issues in turn demands that the consultant understand how his own personal and professional values and styles relate to the goals and objectives of different and multiple interest groups.

The racially and intergenerationally torn fiber of our schools clearly indicates the need for a style of consultation that can address and confront school life on these issues. Consultants should be prepared to advocate organizational change that leads to the eradication of racism and youth oppression. No technically excellent system of managerial consultation or teacher retraining should distract schools and change agents from these twin foci. Not just in content, but in style and process as well, consultants and change agents must help schools move forward on these issues.

A Summary: What Kinds of Consultant Help Do Schools Need?

Consultants who work for school change in these troubled times will need a wide range of skills. Schools, and different parties in schools, require varied kinds of help, and special consultants will be needed to meet their needs. Consultants trained in old ways of helping schools will need to re-examine their values, diagnoses and skills, because schools and their relations to their consultants are different now than they used to be. And, the kinds of help they need are different.

Some of the skills consultants need in order to help schools change include the ability to:

- a. create instruments and diagnose basic issues and symptoms
- b. train whites in the realization and reduction of personal and institutional racism
- c. design new forms of anti-racist curricula and instructional processes
- d. train educators in new ways of working with youth
- e. design student and community influence systems and representation structures

- f. design organizational and instructional processes that reduce the degree of control by obsolete professional traditions
- g. help different role groups prosecute their own interests
- h. teach negotiating skills and skills in coalition formation
- i. take high risks of self and role to avoid being used or co-opted by current school priorities
- j. identify one's own personal values and seek ways to advocate them

Of course not all these skills are likely to be found in any one person. Therefore, any consultant must also be able to:

- k. collaborate with and form coalitions with heterogeneous colleagues
- l. identify others who can be trained as a cadre to provide ongoing local change

In order to do that, he must personally,

- m. be aware of his own racism, or feelings and behaviors with regard to racial issues
- n. be aware of his own adult chauvinism, or feelings and behavior with regard to students and adults
- o. be aware of his own strengths and limitations
- p. constantly stretch his strengths and alter his limitations

How does all this happen? How do consultants of this sort become skilled, trained and ready? In the following chapters we describe some of the issues to be dealt with in retraining and some examples of retraining programs for consultants.

III. Retraining Consultants: The Issues in Change

In this chapter we speak directly to some of the specific retraining concerns noted previously. It is our feeling that no set of technical skills by itself can provide the direction for change efforts. As such, no clear sense of strategy or choice of strategies is possible without first examining and developing a conceptual orientation to the problems of American high schools. From our point of view, the ways racism and youth oppression are experienced in schools, and the ways these basic aspects of school experience intertwine with the political and professional priorities of schools are most crucial to understand. Then the underlying nature of school conflict, and the transition of conflict to crisis can be set in perspective.

The elaboration of these key organizational issues is clearly value-centric and no one ought to read the following pages assuming anything else. Our assumptions about the dominant characteristics of current school life also suggest goals for change, areas in which change must happen if school is to be made better for any and all concerned. In this chapter we summarize recent experience and research on these issues, and illustrate ways in which training efforts directed at increased value clarity and new behaviors have been conducted. Some of the illustrated training episodes or strategies have been used with highly skilled professional consultants; others have been used with persons just beginning to define and test their roles as change agents.

The Politics of Educational Racism

The school is one of the several political institutions that trains and supports people to take their place in the American society. Inadequate and unequal educational opportunities for black, brown and poor white students have long term effects on their economic and social well-being. Since education is key to economic well-being and political power, schools which systematically fail to educate minority students help maintain these students' positions of economic and political powerlessness.

There are many examples of the ways in which institutional racism is practiced in schools. We can begin with political decisions about the ways in which schools are financed and supported. Since school support is tied to a property tax, those who live in expensive communities have the potential to realize a better education than those who live in communities with a lower tax base. Twice as much monies may be spent to educate students in some white suburbs than for students in predominantly black urban communities; and often within the same local district, monies usually are not distributed equally across schools. States governments, which have the power to equalize such financial differences, usually choose not to do so.

The content of American education supports political and ideological structures that have alienated blacks, browns and members of other minorities through their exclusion and through support of white cultural biases. Schools' reluctance to recognize the existence of minorities in curricular efforts to teach about both the present and past indicate the white bias of a monocultural institution. For instance, social studies and history courses typically teach a version of American history that ignores both brutality to minorities and the positive contributions of minorities to American life. Similarly, American literature courses seldom examine the writing and background of major black and brown authors. Writing and speaking styles, too, are oriented to the linguistic preferences and career goals of white middle class students. Remedial classes sometimes are instituted to "make up for" the minorities' "cultural disadvantages." Thus, minorities are excluded from active and full participation in school life, and at the same time find their own culture and styles blamed for their exclusion. Seldom does the majority culture take responsibility for these states of affairs.

Teachers' expectations of differential performance and failure from certain students have long term effects which often cause those students to behave in ways that support teachers' self-fulfilling prophecies. In many desegregated as well as predominantly black or brown schools white teachers, who are often in the majority, expect different academic achievement of students based on race. Teachers' low expectations are devastating to minority students' academic growth. Most white educators grew up in white neighborhoods, attended white schools and training

institutions and owe allegiance to the mainstream values of the white dominated society. Without special preparation to the contrary, these educators can only reinforce—in their teaching and informal behavior—the prevailing norms of that monocultural perspective. While these limitations on one's perspective may be "natural," such racism is dangerous for minority and majority students' efforts to gain self-esteem and to learn more culturally plural ways of living.

The political effects of the tracking system parallel the social class structure found in society at large. Students on the academic curriculum often graduate into college and become future business and community leaders; those on the general and vocational curriculum often graduate into lower status, short-term employment and are more likely to end up on welfare rolls. Counselors consciously or unconsciously program a disproportionate number of blacks and browns into the general and vocational curricula. Middle class whites of low ability are pushed into a highly competitive academic track, despite their suitability for other job and school career patterns. Yet professionals argue that the tracking system is tailored to fit the educational needs of students and that the general track is as highly valued and cherished as the academic. If there is truly such pluralism why aren't students from the vocational and general curriculum also honored as valedictorian and salutatorian? The law of averages would require a student from one of the non-college bound curricula to graduate with honors occasionally. Students are unlikely to work hard for A's when their chances of getting such grades are minimal. It seems clear that much more emphasis and respect is placed upon college preparatory students through the honors and special attention that reward academic behaviors. Often students do not know that they are being "tracked," or treated differently and the expectations and controls on their behavior are more informal and subtle. These experiences lead to more distress, alienation, self-blame and in some cases dropping out.

Although many schools are physically desegregated, voluntary separation of black and white students clearly is evident from the informal socialization patterns of students; ethnic solidarity is the pattern during the lunch hour, between classes in the hallways, and in assemblies.

Starting in the 1960's, many black students formalized this separateness into Black Student Unions, a political response designed to make the system more responsive to their personal and academic growth needs. The surprise and discomfort greeting these developments again illustrate the politics of racism in schools.

It is important that more blacks and browns become involved in directing the educational process. The absence of such persons in the curriculum and on staff and discriminatory tracking systems reinforce the misconception propagated by whites that color of skin determines ability. Obviously this stands in the way of self assurance, general learning and preparation for living in a humane society. It also is important that minority teachers and administrators are aware of the political priorities of the school and do not become involved in supporting various forms of racial injustice. Often, support of racial and social class-determined school rules and procedures has caused much "psychological distance" between black students and black educators. Coherent coalitions among majority and minority educators and students may lead the way to an eradication of school racism.

Training episodes that focus on racism. The general focus of these training activities is on ideas and feelings regarding the nature of personal and institutional racism. While personal racism may be easily, though not necessarily willingly, discovered in prejudicial views and attitudes about the inferiority or inadequacy of people unlike oneself, institutional racism is more difficult to identify. It is often hard for white people to note and accept responsibility for the existence and effects of racism in the impersonal workings of major bureaucracies and in the general norms of the culture. The confrontation with these twin aspects of American racism, and their particular existence in schools, is suggested in a variety of ways below. Generally, our preference is for discussions and actions which de-emphasize personal guilt, but which recognize the need for collective awareness, responsibility and reform or new programs.

One good way to discover the racism of monocultural norms and the individual's commitment to these norms is to ask people to create a col-

lage representing their view of "What does it mean to be white in America?" This activity starts with basic materials--a wide variety of popular newspapers and magazines, as well as scissors and tape or glue. When each person in a group does a collage members can comment on each other's work, discussing the themes portrayed or discovered. Some typical themes focus on the affluence of middle-class society, roles of luxury and leisure, patterns of achievement, occasional feelings as part of an oppressor class, the conflicts between ideals and morals and practices and behaviors, the search for identity and cultural meaning, the pressure of coercion and violence, and images of poverty and oppression in minority groups. Two important issues in analyzing individual or group collages are: 1) the extent to which the focus is on the white society and its components versus aspects of the minority society; 2) the extent to which the focus is on dilemmas and feelings inside oneself versus descriptions of issues or characteristics of the society outside. The first issues indicate the degree to which participants are analyzing or "blaming the victim" rather than seeing racism in the white majority. The second issue indicates the extent to which participants can examine their own values and behavior and connect them to the operation of racism in the society. Some examples of provocative questions a group can utilize in discussing collages follow:

What implications does the collage have for whiteness?
White identity? How do interpretations make you feel at
this moment? How does the collage relate to oppression?
How do you support that oppression with your whiteness?

What is violent about the collage? What is peaceful?
Is there more violence than peace? What does violence and
peace mean for white roles in change? How does this relate
to schools? Based upon the group's interpretations what
change strategies can you engage in now?

The entire exercise should take about 4 hours, with approximately 45 minutes spent creating a collage and at least an hour for comments and reactions.

Another way to provide an understanding of racism is to identify specific examples of institutional racism in the organization and operation of the school. Special attention can be paid to obvious

issues in areas such as: school finance, decision-making processes, staff training, staff make-up, instructional procedures, curriculum, informal student patterns and community school interfaces. Insofar as possible, participants should be helped to report concrete illustrations rather than vague reflections. A training group in Florida generated a list of over 100 examples in 1/2 hour. These examples were then used as reference points for diagnostic work in planning change. Here are some examples from two areas of their list.

Organizational Decision-Making and Communication

School boards are white controlled. Lack of black administrative input.

True black thought is seldom recognized by the hierarchy. Administrators attempt to make black students perform in the white ideal.

Whites control the decision-making and communications processes.

The 'big decisions' are many times made without black input because of the position generally allocated to blacks in the hierarchy.

The entire process has to be identified as racist. Furthermore, the system is designed to perpetuate itself, which perpetuates the problem.

Staff Preparation, Selection and Behavior

Teachers protect the system.

Percentage of black and brown teachers is less than their population in the community.

Blacks are kept from being Department Heads. They are kept out of particularly sensitive fields, i.e., government, history, sociology.

Always selected without any input from black students and parents.

Black staff members are usually 'super niggers,' i.e., over-qualified. White staff members, as usual, have just the necessary qualifications.

This learning activity can be followed by one which focusses on the development of anti-racist components for a school. One way to do

this is to select some priority items from the above list and prepare a plan to alter the racist state of affairs. For instance a group can be asked to design the following:

- a staff retraining program to alter staff views and behaviors regarding intergroup relations in school and class;
- an affirmative action program to increase the number of minority staff;
- a program of role and norm restructuring to provide professional support for teachers who deal meaningfully with issues of racism.

If there is more than one group, each can critique one other group's design, using probing questions such as:

How does this design deal directly with racism? How feasible is this design to implement? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each of the designs? How would you change the design for a more effective program?

If blacks and whites are involved in this activity together, note whether they come up with similar or dissimilar suggestions. If dissimilar, how so? On what dimensions? With what effects?

In order to engage in anti-racist change work in schools, whites must be able to accept and work well under minority leadership. Long term and continuous minority leadership will be an increasingly familiar event in interracial schools, and whites will face several new and unfamiliar problems in these coalitions. We have posed some common dilemmas whites face in letting go of white control, in dealing with unfamiliar leadership and decision-making styles, in using white resources under black leadership, and in coping with anxiety and confusion under such circumstances. Some of these issues are portrayed in the following role playing scene:

Situation:

You, a white scholar, are the original leader of an interracial team working in an interracial school. Several blacks on the team are demanding black leadership. You have many skills and expertise and you feel you should be the leader. In fact you are used to leadership, power and control. Right now you are having a conversation with two white colleagues.

Colleague #1

Blacks and whites should share leadership if they are equally competent. But in this case you have better technical skills and a bigger reputation in the area. I think it's a cop-out.

Colleague #2

There is no question blacks ought to lead the effort. It's the leader's job, then, to tell us how to use our resources and when to say what. I don't want to look like we're competing or stepping on his toes if he is the leader.

Some discussion questions to be raised after the role play:

How did you feel about the challenge to white control? What is the rationale for black or minority leadership in this situation? Have you experienced this dilemma in your work? How does it feel there? How can whites insure that their resources are used effectively under black leadership? Is an integrative team under black leadership workable? Was there anything patronizing or overtly racist about colleagues 1 and 2? How can a black provide effective leadership within this context? What kind of confusion and anxiety did you experience? Will other whites you know be sympathetic to these issues? What will they say to you?

Another role playing scene that gets at the same issues follows:

General situation: A black educator is leading a committee to investigate interracial conditions in the local desegregated high school. The committee is now investigating the role of parents in the high school situation.

Black educator - You want to make sure that parents who have considerable community influence are interviewed and their collective responses made public.

White committee member #1 - You feel that the black educator's ideas are unfair and will not lead to objective results. Your idea is to interview a random group of parents or all the parents who attend PTA.

White committee member #2 - You feel unsure about the way the black educator is taking the position he is and wonder if it is for political purposes. You want to support his leadership but also wish he was not focusing so much on the white elites in town.

Specific Setting: All of you are in a committee meeting trying to decide how to involve parents in your investigation. Your goal is to make a decision on this potential policy and provide for its implementation.

Discussion items to be considered by the participants and observers after the role play are:

1. Feelings of 2 white committee members toward the leader;
2. Feelings of black educator with respect to roles of white committee members;
3. Should the work and discussion by whites give in to the position taken by the black leader?

One excellent arena for work on issues of racism is the racial caucus. To use this arena requires deliberate separation of majority and minority members for portions of a training session. We all are used to seeing a black caucus, a brown caucus or a minority caucus, but what about a white caucus? The creation of a white caucus is so rare it generally creates discomfort and often resistance among whites. Some issues which can be raised fruitfully in such a scene include:

- What are the common ties among participants in a white caucus?
- What are the style differences based on ethnic or status divisions among whites?
- How are white participants feeling about their connections to one another, to each others' racism, to the ways each relates to minority persons?
- Why can it be a "cop out" for whites to focus on "what's going on in the minority caucus?"
- How do the issues discussed in the caucus relate to patterns among white teachers and administrators in the school?

Several simulations or structured role play designs also can be developed that may help focus on issues of racism in school conflict. One group role play design focusing on intergenerational issues is located on pages 36-38 of this chapter. Rewrite that design so that it deals with racial issues and try it out. In discussing the situation particular attention should be paid to the following issues:

What racist behaviors did the principal exhibit? What racially relevant barriers to communication existed? How do the students' racially oriented concerns differ from the ones now shown on page 37.

Other questions, of course, will be dependent on the design you choose.

Based upon the exercises in this section, go back and look at the interaction between the superintendent and the consultant on pages 11 and 12 in Chapter II. What kinds of statements did that superintendent make

that could be considered racist? What kind of responses did the consultant make that would indicate that he colluded with this racism? How would you now respond as a consultant in that scene?

The Politics of Youth Oppression

Public rhetoric suggests that the purposes of school are to prepare students for future employment and a place in society. In practice, we see more of the society's need to maintain authoritarian control over students daily activities and opportunities and to teach them how to accommodate to a highly bureaucratic culture. Compulsory attendance and child labor laws keep students from entering the job-market and insure that there are few alternatives for them outside the school. Inside, schools have been supportive of these same priorities in exercising firm controls over student behavior, often violating constitutional rights Americans hold in high esteem, and in isolating students from the community, culture and economy.

Student complaints shed light on the extent of oppression and lack of due process in school: constraints on rights to free speech and assembly, absence of the right to petition or have a legitimate grievance procedure, secret and arbitrary rules and regulations governing student behavior, controls on the right to dress and wear one's hair according to personal taste, and so on. Even more blatant is some educators' righteous zeal regarding the use of corporal punishment as an effective pedagogical technique. Unannounced locker searches and censorship of student newspapers, clubs, and activities are further examples of the degree of control exercised by the school in non-educational areas, areas where students ought to be unfettered and protected by civil statute. These examples mock the civil liberties and rights stated in the federal constitution and help breed generations of students who feel that talk about rights and liberties is a subterfuge and a hoax for the maintenance of arbitrary control. How will young adults trained in these ways treat the adult American political system? With trust in civil processes? With cynicism about rights and liberties? With trust in popular government? With cynicism about bureaucratic and manipulative elites?

There is now a political movement developing to protect students against the violation of their basic rights and privileges. Many school

personnel experience difficulty with such local initiatives since they feel that increased rights for students represent encroachments upon their benevolent authority, and a threat to their ability to maintain order in school. Similarly, more liberal adults often talk about student "rights" and "responsibilities" together. Responsibilities is a word designed to limit the behavioral activities of student rights; the term alone indicates adults' distrust of students to be responsible.

In most high schools, students have little to say about the governance or management of the system ostensibly established for their benefit. Adults make all the relevant decisions regarding the allocation of time and other resources in the school day, and students are expected to be passive, willing, and even eager recipients of this process. In many schools students are now asking for more influence on local policy, and for power to alter certain aspects of school life. The power to review the credentials and performance of teachers, budget allocations, curriculum designs, and the creation of autonomous student clubs and social activities are their vital priorities. Thus the administration of the educational experience is seen by many students as an arbitrary process; certainly it is arbitrary in the sense that the prime clients cannot hold their faculty responsible for the behaviors they engage in. Another outcome of potential arbitrariness is that there is little attention paid to most student grievances. Legitimate complaints are funneled underground to be forgotten, sometimes because "students don't really know what they want," sometimes because adults "know better." The result is an underclass that seeks to collaborate with educational professionals but that experiences constant rejection and confirmation of their own impotence. If students were involved in making legitimate decisions they might become more involved in changing school to be more responsive to their needs. Fighting against the system, sleeping in class, dropping out or copping out with easy classes might be reduced.

One result of the oppression characteristic of adult-dominated schools is that both students and educators are constrained and unnatural in their human interactions with one another. The highly structured role divisions with attendant distance between students and educators make it difficult for honest, reciprocal and courteous conversation to

occur between teachers and students. Thus, some individuals who would like to try and break out of this rigid political system find it extremely difficult, hampered as they are by the institutional legacy of an unequal division of privilege and power.

Training episodes that focus on youth oppression. Youth oppression, like racism, has both personal and institutional loci. Training efforts may direct attention to two arenas: (1) individuals' personal exercise of control over others, or passive acceptance of that control by the oppressed group or (2) institutional norms and roles that codify and maintain one class of persons (adults) in positions of unchallenged dominance over another class (students), regardless of their individual merit, style, talent or need.

Some of the key issues in the role relations among young people and adults can be surfaced through a focus on a clarification of values regarding school policies and procedures. Small groups can be created to respond to and encounter each other on key issues. Two procedures for forming discussion or reaction groups include: (1) groups that are heterogeneous in character, composed of students and adults, educators and lay persons; or (2) groups that are homogeneous in character, composed of students in one group, teachers in another, administrators in another, parents in another, etc. In the former case, major debates and divisions of a role-based character will occur within each group. Cross-group discussions can then summarize different positions on the policy issues raised and on reactions to the process of conversation. In the latter case discussions can help identify a range of positions common to a role group, and then these positions can be shared across groups. It is our view that homogeneous groups usually represent the best place to start. Such groups avoid the problems of a few students being overwhelmed by teachers' concerns and attentions, and permits students to identify their own unique concerns and get themselves together. It also encourages adults to focus upon themselves and their own relations and problems in schools and not to project their concerns onto students.

Specified policy problems and positions can be dealt with in discussion groups through the presentation and focus on provocative stimuli such as:

Students should select and evaluate their faculty.

Students cannot rely upon adults to make decisions for them.

Students simply don't have the training to make good decisions about the content of the curriculum.

All the rights of the federal constitution just don't apply in school. Locker searches are necessary and legitimate.

Students should have completely autonomous control over clubs and social activities on school grounds.

There should be a student representative with full voting power on the school board.

Students and the faculty should hire, evaluate and fire the principal.

Grades are an appropriate and necessary mechanism for insuring that students learn and work hard.

Several other activities can be used to focus on the conditions of and reactions to youth oppression. The preparation of an evaluative instrument is one means that would enable students to assess the performance of their instructional staff. A key component of this preparation would be to identify relevant criteria for classroom performance and relationships. Some examples of inquiries around relevant criteria follow:

Does this teacher seem to care whether students learn?

Does this teacher behave differently toward students of different races?

Has this teacher been helpful to you in your learning efforts this year?

Does this teacher usually know what he/she is talking about?

Once an instrument has been designed, careful planning can ensue to ensure the implementation of such a procedure in the school. What barriers could one expect? What supportive systems might be drawn on?

Another activity critical to the retraining of school change-agents is experience in talking to and working with students in a high school. Find some students, sit with them, and ask them to identify the major positive and negative features of their school. How open are they with an outsider? With an adult? With you? How open and how scared were you? In doing this an attempt should be made to reach different types of students--majority and minority, college bound and non-college bound, etc. The trainee should learn which students he is most comfortable with

and why. It is important to speak with organized groups of students, not just with individuals. Conversations with individuals are too easily distorted, especially by the status of an adult. More realistic concerns and issues are likely to be raised in a group situation.

Since adult control rests primarily on their superior power over students in school, one useful retraining activity for change agents would involve the imagination and creation of new forms of roles and role structures which would alter this state of affairs. Persons, or groups of persons, can be asked to design an educational situation in which power is more equally shared between adults and students. The basic problem is to discover how we can reduce the dehumanizing and oppressive effects adult control generally has brought to the teacher-learner situation and replace it with other systems of power that are less, not more, oppressive. This task can focus first upon the classroom, stressing primarily the teaching-learning interaction and an environment that uses parity to find new instructional forms. Participants may find themselves imagining students teaching teachers, as well as teachers using their resources in new ways. Then the task can shift focus to view the entire school, and to design a managerial or governance process that utilizes student-adult parity as a basic organizing principle. Participants may find themselves designing student-faculty senates, or student representation and control structures. What kinds of institutional structures are necessary at both these levels? How close to real parity can people come in their designs? What kinds of retraining will be required for adults and students to behave in consonance with these models? What kinds of preparatory work needs to be done with the community to provide room for such reorganization to be tried?

Several role play designs can be invented that focus on adult controls and consequent youth reactions. One group role play design is provided below. It can be used with groups of adults or mixed groups of adults and young people.

General Situation

School protests occurred in some neighboring high schools this past week; there were also some rumblings in your school. The school principal has been quoted in the local newspapers as believing that most disruption is caused by

a few troublemakers, some of whom aren't even students. Moreover, he has said he doesn't expect serious trouble in this school because: (1) there are only a few problems; (2) he is always ready to listen to students; and (3) students know he will deal firmly with any disruptive behavior.

This is a large high school drawing most students from middle-class and upper middle-class backgrounds. About 90% of the students are white and 10% are black.

Several students are talking together to prepare to ask the principal for a meeting to discuss some concerns.

Roles

- Student #1: You helped organize student volunteers for the mayoral campaign last summer. Now you're becoming involved in anti-war activity. School rules prohibit wearing buttons or passing out literature.
- Student #2: You helped write the first issue of an underground newspaper critical of administrative paternalism. It reviewed modern entertainment and used some profanity. School personnel do not know who wrote it.
- Student #3: You've just inherited six beautiful skirts from your sister at college. School officials threatened to send you home if you wore skirts that were too short.
- Student #4: Last year you led a small demonstration protesting the school's remaining open during the commemoration of Martin Luther King. You don't trust the newspaper, and want to know exactly what the principal said.
- Student #5: You're a junior--one of the "brains." You've just received traditional English, History, and Social Studies texts. You and some of your friends want to study modern literature like Camus, Mailer, Malcolm X, Phillip Roth and John Hersey instead, and have a course on the origin and development of the Vietnamese War. If a teacher can't work on it, you want to run it yourselves.

General Situation Followup

The above students, in addition to the following role occupants, are now gathered together in the principal's office for a meeting.

Roles:

- Principal: You are now at the center of a rather difficult situation. You have been principal here for 9 years. When you came nobody ever protested

anything out loud, and nothing here has changed, so it's hard to understand why there's so much noise now. Over 75% of these kids do go on to college, so they must be getting a good education.

Superintendent: (acting as an alter-ego to the principal)
You want to impress upon the principal that he should not make any rash moves that would upset the community. Certainly he must be aware of the need for stability in the schools.

Assistant minister of large church: (acting as an alter-ego to the principal)
You are anxious for the principal to take students seriously. Most of their demands sound rather reasonable, especially when compared to the strict rules the school system has now established. The principal is in your congregation.

Newspaperman:
You will knock on the door shortly after the meeting starts, introduce yourself and ask if you can attend. This sounds like hot stuff and you'd like to get in on it.

Several students:
(as above)

Some discussion questions that can be used after the scenes have been played are:

How well did each person play their role? How could the role playing be improved? In playing your role, what influence did you feel you had in the school? In your judgment are the students concerns relevant to the school? Which ones were? Which ones were not? Who did you identify with--Why?

What mistakes did you feel the principal or students made in this interaction? Was the principal patronizing? Was he trying to co-opt students? What was the overall trust level of the students toward the school?

What feelings did the principal, superintendent and minister and newspaperman show at the meeting? Did they fall along racial or generational lines? What were the barriers to communication in the meeting? Did these fall along racial or status lines? What assumptions and preferences were expressed concerning decision-making in the meeting?

What are some of the implications this role playing scene has for you as a consultant?

Based upon the exercises in this section, go back and review the interaction between the superintendent and the consultant on pages 11 and 12. What kinds of statements did that superintendent make that could be

considered as patronizing or insensitive to youth problems and concerns? What kind of responses did the consultant make that would indicate that he was not seriously troubled by the concerns and problems of protesting students? Consider the response you as a consultant would make to that telephone call now.

The Politics of Professionalism

The concept of an educational professional includes the assumption that one has experienced specialized training in order to acquire and deliver expert skills in guiding the young. As a natural result of spending years in a school of education, and attempting to adapt to certain professional norms, educators learn a standard set of assumptions, ethics and modes of conduct. These standards generally maintain and support institutional arrangements that are at small variance with the societal status quo. Professionalism (which classifies most of us if we have gone through the advanced educative process) is now the rationale for maintaining present status lines and majoritarian codes of taste and conduct.

Professional organizations and societies contain by-laws pertaining to ethical pledges of conduct and behaviors which imply it is professionally indignified to become involved in partisan political activity. The result is further normative pressure to adapt to institutional structures and arrangements rather than to change them in more than a few degrees. In this way professional priorities are seen as apolitical rather than as carrying a political position of their own. But maintaining the status quo is every bit as political a bias as is changing the situation. Professional norms and values of "neutrality" are reinforced by scholarly articles and journals, where large numbers of inconsequential studies and documentation are published and "disseminated." The cloak of professional and scientific neutrality is often used by scholars to divert attention from their personal political biases and from the way social systems constrain and use scientific knowledge for partisan purposes.

The political power of professionalism supports both interpersonal and institutional racism in school. The absence of black and other minority

groups in the curriculum and on the professional staff, the use of culturally biased I.Q. tests for differential treatment of students and school tracking and the self-fulfilling mythology perpetuating gross academic failure and despair are examples of professional conduct producing racist effects. Black professionals, like whites, are often a part of and supportive of a structure that is inimical and abrasive to the partisan interest of black students. Often black professionals identify with the professional oppressors and not with the oppressed student or community group.

Professional norms do not only support racism, they also support adult control to the point of gross violations of free speech and the right to redress of grievances. Those concerned with professionals' control of the school have not been supportive of students' constitutional rights, student involvement in school decision-making and in the reformation of a student oriented curriculum. Because it is assumed that educators are concerned with meeting everybody's needs, and will do only what is in the common interest, minorities are not seen to need an appeal or grievance system. Because educators are assumed to be experts in knowing students' educational and social needs, and altruistic enough to serve them unilaterally, the normal political constraints or guarantees from inadequate service are denied to students. Outside participation in or control of the profession is seen to be unnecessary because the profession insists it can be trusted to govern itself, and by doing so to meet clients' needs best. A professional who dares to challenge seriously current education finds himself engaged in politics at variance with present structural and institutional supports; he runs the risk of hostile criticism from peers and consequent professional estrangement.

Training episodes that focus on professionalism. The focus on professionalism requires a hard look at the class backgrounds, training experiences and work norms that support a certain ideological perspective on education. Since so much of what is "professional" in contemporary education is taken for granted, surfacing and dealing with these subtle dilemmas and issues are typically very difficult.

One means of inquiry into the nature of professionalism is to ask the professional himself to try to identify just what does qualify him or her for his unique position and stance. A helpful approach in this regard is to ask teachers and administrators, "What did you learn in the School of Education that is helpful to you in your job?" "What have you learned from other teachers that is helpful to you in your job?" Both these questions seek to identify the source and nature of the special knowledge that we associate with a professional. Often, of course, we discover that there is no special knowledge, that one merely sees himself as a good individual with some "natural" talent. The process of certification and credentialization discourages many people with natural talent from entering the profession and using their skills when they do enter. These processes also provide special privileges to many people without talent. People with talent should be able to use it; but even talent should not provide special rights and privileges with regard to making important decisions for others.

Another approach is to explore the nature of the assumptions professionals hold regarding their charges, patients, clients or whatever. The professional's "right to rule" is based not only on the assumption of one's own superior stance or preparation, but as well on certain assumptions about the needs or character of one's clients.

If left to their own devices in the classroom will students learn? What will they probably learn? How?

If they selected their own curriculum what would students want to learn?

If there were no hall passes what would students do? Why? Would there be chaos? For how long? Would students organize a hall procedure? Why would they go to a class? Why wouldn't they?

If teachers were free to teach as they wished what would they do differently? What would you do differently?

To the extent that the professional we wish to focus on is himself a conscious change agent or intergroup consultant, one might raise the following questions:

What special training has been relevant for you in the performance of your role?

Who gives you the right and/or power to be helping this school system? How broad a mandate do you have? Do various components of the school agree on your mandate?

If you weren't worried about being invited back for another session (regardless of the reason), what would you do differently while you're here?

What reasons might there be for your not being invited back?
Who would not want you back?

One useful retraining technique for change agents is the structured role playing of certain key scenes. The following scenes can be used with two, three or a group of players. In all cases the important focus is upon the assumptions, intentions, behavior, outcomes and feelings of the consultant. He or she, too, is a professional, subject to many of the same class and role biases as other professionals in the educational system.

Roles for a consultant and one other person:

- a student asks "What are you doing this (coming to our school) for? How do you answer?
- a colleague says, "Your anger at teacher X is unprofessional." How do you answer?
- your spouse says, "It's important to make that contact continue because we need the money." How do you really answer?
- your University department chairman says, "You must spend less time out in the field, you're ignoring research and placing too little emphasis on your classes. We stress research scholars here, not social activists." How do you answer?

Roles for a consultant and two other persons:

- a student asks for help in pressuring the principal to change. Five minutes later the principal asks for help in quieting the students. Now both of them meet you in the hall and the student asks, "Who are you really helping?" How does the conversation proceed?
- you and another consultant are meeting with the superintendent of a school. The superintendent says, "Would you work to retrain the teachers in this system?" Your colleague says, "No, not unless they also have a say in school curriculum and finance." The superintendent turns and asks you the same question. What happens now?

Roles for a group

- you are part of a team working with an interracial school. Your particular assignment is to consult with the white principal and you feel he is able to change. Your team leader, a black man, feels the team of change agents needs to forget the principal and work directly with the parents

and the community. He tells you to begin work with a conservative white parents' group. This occurs at a meeting of the several consultants. How do you respond? And then what?

- three professors of education discuss their school's teacher training program. As a staff member in the local school you want to alter the university's curriculum to better prepare prospective teachers. How do you present your case? One professor questions your knowledge; another challenges that colleague; the third professes his impotence in making changes. What change strategy do you consider?
- several students come to you indicating they feel qualified and desirous of evaluating the faculty and determining faculty hiring, promotion and termination. They feel this is necessary to guarantee the faculty's accountability to them. Several faculty members indicate they don't feel students are qualified and that such a move would threaten their autonomy and thus efficacy. Evaluation by professional peers or superiors is what they prefer. What do you say to the group of students? To the group of faculty members?

As we have indicated in prior role-playing examples, time must be put aside for discussion of the issues raised, and peoples' feelings about those issues, immediately after the scene itself. Discussions of some professionals' common and typical views regarding non-professionals also may highlight underlying issues in the nature of their craft and role. The following data table presents the views of teachers from five high schools on two key items of public support for their professional work.

Table 3
Percent of Teachers' Viewing Community Interest
and Support of "Good Education"

Issue	School				
	A (N=63)	B (N=74)	C (N=53)	D (N=47)	E (N=63)
Most of the people in this community understand and appreciate a good education					
Agree	50%	75%	49%	17%	34%
Disagree	49%	22%	47%	77%	45%
This community is willing to support a good program of education					
Agree	51%	62%	40%	21%	68%
Disagree	45%	34%	59%	68%	32%

It is quite clear that many teachers do not feel supported in their work. But the data can provide other meaning as well, depending on how it is integrated. Group discussions among professionals, or between staffs and parents, might focus on questions such as:

- What do you think the staff had in mind when it assessed the community's position on these questions? What evidence could they have had for each item? What was the meaning of a good education for them? Were they merely asking for support for themselves?
- What are some possible reasons teachers' views are so different in different schools? School B is located in the most affluent community. Do you think this has anything to do with teachers' perceptions?
- Why do you think there is a pretty clear faculty majority (75%-77%) in some schools and an evenly split faculty (41%-59%) on these issues in other schools?
- What are some connections between these perceptions and the support of professionalism discussed earlier?
- What would the faculty say in response to these questions in your school?

Another retraining device can be discussions of a directed case study, preferably a case which illustrates several key issues in the conduct of school life. One case study of a conflict situation is described below, along with the focused questions used to direct group discussion and position taking.

After a basketball game in the home-town high school gymnasium on Wednesday, January 10, around 3:30 p.m. the following incident unfolded. Ralph Jones, a senior and an outstanding player for the home-town team, had fouled out of a basketball game they were playing. At the time he was taken from the game, the score was 64-50 with his team, Central High School, leading. Ralph was a black student who had transferred to Central High that September, along with a friend, Roberto Martinez. They both had come to Central reluctantly: they were leaving a neighborhood they were born and raised in, where they had attended both elementary and junior high school, and were coming into a middle class community that was quite conservative and had a principal who had been labelled publicly "a racist." Both Ralph and Roberto had played on East High's excellent basketball team the year before, and Ralph had been a candidate for "all city" basketball honors.

The team Central was playing was from a community very similar to Central, and all of the opposing players were white. At the time Ralph fouled out of the game, he and

Roberto argued with the referee, who called the last foul on him, and that created somewhat of a "ruckus." The referee then kicked Roberto out of the game as well. The white members of the crowd clearly were provoked by the display of temper and black and brown students obviously supported Ralph and Roberto. The score was 80-78; Central lost by two points, and it was a hard loss.

In the dressing room after the game everyone was very down. The principal, Mr. Robinson, came in to try to lift their spirits. He talked for about ten or fifteen minutes with the other students, while Roberto and Ralph were in the shower. When Roberto and Ralph came out, he tried to talk with them and they ignored him. They walked past him to their lockers. The principal started talking to Ralph and said, 'If you had exercised a bit more self-control you could have made the difference in that ball game.' Ralph visibly tried to avoid him, he turned his head and mumbled something that couldn't be heard. Mr. Robinson tried to get him to repeat it, and when Ralph turned his back to him, Mr. Robinson took his arm and tried to turn him around. When Ralph turned around he said, 'I said, 'Fuck you' and take your hands off me!' Then Mr. Robinson slapped him. A scuffle started between them and the other players and the coach in the locker room rushed to the scene. For about two or three minutes people were pushing each other around. They stopped and Roberto and Ralph changed their clothes and walked out.

After this case study has been read, individuals can be asked to answer the following questions on paper.

1. Should Ralph and Roberto be disciplined? If so, how?
2. Should Mr. Robinson be disciplined? If so, how?

Then individuals can form several homogeneous groups based on race or status to try to share ideas and develop positions. In some cases it may be preferable to work in heterogeneous groupings immediately. We have noted some time when either approach may be preferable on pages 31 and 34.

Patterns of Conflict

Previously this manual has focused on the kinds of conflict embodied in racial, youth-adult and professional relations, highlighting each area with a series of role playing situations and other exercises. We have said little about the causes and functional uses of conflict.

Conflict arises out of differences among groups having varied backgrounds and styles, and some with different roles and tasks to perform in an organization. Each group has its own claims for a fair share of rewards, prestige, status and power or goals, beliefs and customs. A complex organization such as a school is made up of people from varying backgrounds, with varying styles, in varying roles and statuses. All these groups have some different educational values and goals, and most have some different interests in school. Since those groups must interact with one another in the context of these differences they are bound to experience conflict. The shape of this natural and normal conflict may be around school goals and procedures, and/or around the distribution of money, esteem, grades, power or other material and symbolic resources. Conflict also arises out of misunderstandings and miscommunication--prejudice, scapegoating, assumptions that a group is inferior or that skin color determines one's ability and so on. In both these contexts varying groups such as blacks, browns and whites, students and adults, professionals and lay people, experience school conflict.

Conflict is normal; it can be a healthy organizational process. In fact, many vital purposes are served by the deliberate recognition and utilization of conflict. For instance:

Diagnosis: Conflict forces parties to scrutinize their problems. Through discussion and clarification of different wants, needs and desires, problems become more crystallized. It involves parties to the conflict in both critical and imaginative thinking. Black students, for instance, often have shown white administrators how insensitive they are to the practices of racism by their demands for more black teachers, and more black input into curriculum planning.

Solution: The conflict itself helps set the direction for social change. Demands, suggestions and concerns indicate possible solutions and, as such, parties to the conflict often engage in restructuring their demands, suggestions and concerns for a worthwhile outcome. Often school administrators are receptive to demands and concerns of students during this time of high conflict and show their good faith by satisfying such demands.

Integration: Out of conflict there is usually a strategic flowing together of parties for new and meaningful purposes. Conflict often redefines old relationships and establishes new coalitions and patterns of collaboration. Even in the most violent forms of conflict (including war) there is

always a strain to integrate into a meaningful whole. The only time when such integration does not take place is when parties involved withdraw from the conflict completely. In secondary school conflict students and educators often reintegrate around new curricula new teaching patterns and other negotiated issues.

Group formation and cohesiveness: Conflict accentuates and maintains group boundaries, including a feeling of we-ness. It is important that groups maintain some degree of separateness to effectively advocate their partisan interest. If lines of demarcation are blurred by total integration or if such an interest group has been co-opted, then this destroys the group's integrity. Often students show a great deal of cohesiveness in defining what they feel is right and organizing a collective move on the administration.

Communication: Conflict establishes new levels of communication in that traditional patterns between contending parties are interrupted. While traditional communication between race and age groupings most often have proceeded from assumptions and roles of superiority and inferiority, conflict enhances groups' ability to communicate from a position of equal power. Often activist students who protest over school issues are listened to and treated with more respect than they are in normal daily student-administrator relations.

Leadership: Conflict provides opportunities for the development of leadership, especially among oppressed groups who do not have much opportunity to develop such leadership. As a result of conflict with the school system many black and brown students have emerged as leaders, gaining both recognition and respect.

The dynamics of confrontation and reaction appear to give conflict a dysfunctional and often unpalatable appearance. The management of natural conflicts through repression and denial, or through violence and destruction, leaves groups with a sense of winning or losing, and seldom leads to the perception and articulation of legitimate complaints, coherent action or desired changes. For those reasons conflict is grossly feared, and its constant mismanagement helps create major disruptions and violence in the normal administrative functions and procedures of school. When such ineffective management and consequent escalation brings the school to a grinding halt it is usually defined by administrators as a "crisis." The reaction to "crisis," then, often is to try to cool off or de-escalate that condition through repression or cooptation of dissenters.

But constant crises occur for others even when a school functions normally. Student alienation and distress always have been parts of

the school fabric, yet such phenomena have been viewed by professional educators and auxiliary staff as examples of individual student maladjustment, not massive system failure. In this way minority groups or students who make visible their distress and alienation are labelled delinquent, emotionally disturbed, marginal or otherwise illegitimate. Only recently have such students organized politically to question the purposes and goals of education and to increase their control of school life. Such organized dissent against racism and oppression has caused many to begin to view the organization, rather than the individuals within it, as the major cause of student failure or unrest, or both. Of course, other patterns of deviance still exist; dropouts, drug escapes and over-conformists add to the ranks of political rebels the number of students who are seriously disaffected with life in school.

Organized efforts at dissent and change indicate that the positive and constructive use of conflict has to start before the situation develops into a full-blown crisis. Parties to conflict are often least up-tight, afraid, alienated and distressed at the beginning stages. Administrators will have to be able to diagnose and utilize conflict by providing more creative channels and procedures so that it can be surfaced and dealt with realistically. Minority group members and students will have to find ways of raising their concerns through the planned escalation of underlying conflicts. No matter what happens, conflicts will continue as natural components of differences within the organization. Yet, these underlying differences can be dealt with at less intense levels of tension with more positive outcomes and changes likely. However, if programs to reduce racism and the oppression of youth are not developed, we can expect all varieties of school conflict to continue to escalate into crises.

Training episodes that focus on conflict. The focus of training episodes around school conflict is on the naturalness and normality of different values and interests. Moreover, the feelings of being caught between competing aspects of one's role, or between competing groups need to be examined. The intention of this focus is to prepare for intervention prior to the point where highly escalated crisis is at hand.

Of course, such crisis itself requires skilled interventions. Patterns of conflict utilization or resolution are dealt with later in the section on strategies.

One design for learning how to diagnose and surface a number of conflicts in school is through the deliberate search for and identification of group differences. For instance, a heterogeneous group of people (perhaps at a conference or workshop) may be asked to separate themselves into as many different clusters of persons and interests as exist in the high school community. It may be explained that this is not likely to be a comfortable procedure, but that it is necessary to pull groups apart from each other so they may grow stronger by not having to resist some of the pressures for conformity from other groups around them. No structure should be provided for the different groups that are so formed, and the clusters that arrange themselves should be totally derived from participants' notions of the groups that really exist in the school and community. Whatever criteria they select for group formation should be allowed—whether ethnicity, race, status, age, values, or so on. When this clustering process is completed, and when some initially small separate groups join with some larger ones, each group can be asked to name themselves and begin to identify their commonalities on paper.

In one school where this design was used, five groups developed. One group was made up of conservative teachers and parents; a second group was composed of moderate or liberally oriented teachers, parents and community members who felt a sense of identity with each other. At first the teachers and the parents had met separately but then decided that they had much in common, and decided to join forces. A third group was composed mostly of black students, although some white students asked to join and were allowed to stay. A fourth group, composed of white students, gradually came together from many places. The principal constituted a final group by himself. Each group's members then tried to identify the things they had held in common, and reasons they clustered together, and the ways in which they were distinct from other groups in the workshop. Then each group presented a list of the kinds of concerns and views they had about the school and the problems they saw in school.

Another procedure for illuminating the nature of interest group conflicts, and for helping to identify the raw feelings of people involved in such conflicts, is the use of simulation or structured group role plays. For example:

STUDENT POWER AND PROFESSIONALISM

A role playing simulation on multi-party influence and conflict over school authority.

General situation:

The Thomas Jefferson High School is one of seven secondary schools serving a midwestern community. Most of the students are from middle class homes, with some upper-middle class families represented and a smattering of poverty level families. Eighty-five percent of the students are white, from a variety of different ethnic groupings, and the remaining fifteen percent are from black and brown minorities.

The Jefferson school has had a series of disturbances over the past several years, but none of them have been accompanied by violence. The principal has been quite firm in maintaining control in these circumstances and is seen as committed to a firm, yet liberal, educational policy.

Lately groups of students have been working together outside of the student government to prepare materials regarding an evaluation of the faculty. This idea was first surfaced by the Student Government last year, but was never pushed when it appeared there was some faculty resistance to the idea.

Yesterday morning, on the third day of the winter semester, the following handout appeared on bulletin boards, in mailboxes and lockers, on various walls and was distributed throughout the school.

STUDENT POWER CAN BE REAL: EVALUATE THE FACULTY!

For too long students at this High School have let adults run their lives here and make all the important decisions regarding what goes on at school. Right now we have no say in what we learn (the curriculum), how we learn it (classroom instruction) and who teaches it (our teachers). Nor do we have any say in how much money will be spent for what items in the school budget, including our activities, materials, etc. Our student government, the newspaper and most clubs are controlled and censored by faculty members and the principal.

It is time for this state of affairs to come to an end. Students at Jefferson must decide what they want and must act to have some say in what happens.

One of the places where this is most important is in the makeup of the teaching staff. We have very few young teachers here, and very few from minority groups. Most of our teachers have been here for a long time, and most teach in the same old ways. Some are not very good. Why should we be submitted to low quality instruction?

Students should be able to evaluate the performance of their teachers. And this evaluation should count when it is time to renew teachers' contracts, raise their pay, give them promotions, or suggest they teach elsewhere (or not at all). This would not be a popularity contest, but a real evaluation of how good they are.

It is our right to have some say about who teaches us. After all, we suffer if they're no good. And we know who's good and who's not.

For these reasons we, the student body of Jefferson High School, request the administration and faculty of the school to endorse this basic idea and:

1. Establish a mechanism whereby students can evaluate the performance of the teaching staff.
2. Provide materials, funds, space, and expert help so we can design and carry out a good questionnaire for all students to fill out.
3. Agree to small groups of students being permitted to observe classrooms and see what happens in other classes.
4. Increase the number of minority faculty members so they equal the percentage of minority students, by next fall.
5. Establish a student-faculty committee that will decide how to judge the information collected and how to report it to students, faculty or the community. This board will also hear complaints students have about teachers and vice versa.
6. Establish a student-faculty-administration committee that will do the screening, hiring, promotion and firing of all faculty members. This committee will use the evaluative data as part of their decisions.

When the faculty read these materials they immediately asked their association representative to meet with the principal to see where he stood on the matter. The principal was out of town, but the vice-principal met with them and said he opposed the idea completely. Moreover, he was angered by the fact that the students had not come and talked with him about the issues before taking action. And, they clearly had violated some other school rules by distributing and posting materials without clearance through him first.

When these materials reached the public there were heated reactions from several sides. The local newspaper's editorial this morning urged "adequate consideration of involving students to a greater extent in school matters," but noted that students were really not "fit to judge the professional qualifications of trained teachers." The paper also warned against "turning the school over to the students," as this issue clearly was only one of several more that could be expected.

Specific situation:

Participants from the following school and community groups and roles will be involved in the situation: students, teachers, administrators, school board members, parents, police officers, local media representatives. The students have asked that the issue be taken up at the school board meeting three days from now.

STUDENTS:

There is not complete agreement in this group. Moreover, some students are particularly concerned with the effects of activism on this issue may have on their chances of getting through school, into college, and the like.

For the most part, however, students like the idea of having some say in school matters, and especially in this one which is so crucial. At least one student is particularly concerned about minority representation on the staff.

TEACHERS:

There is not total, but nearly total agreement in this group.

The idea of student feedback is liked by many, although not all, faculty members. But almost all agree many students cannot tell a good teacher from a bad one, and would just take advantage of this process to have a popularity contest. Then, too, teachers have fought so long for tenure and job security, and this idea just violates it directly.

ADMINISTRATORS:

In addition to the principal and the assistant principal, the third administrator is an intergroup relations officer who has excellent rapport with the minority community and student body.

As the principal you are primarily concerned with maintaining an orderly school, and this issue has all the earmarks of a catastrophe. You know some of your teachers are not too good, but this seems like a very radical way to deal with the issue.

You are all concerned with maintaining good working relations and rapport with your teaching staff and with the activist students. The school's reputation as a fairly calm place is also a big issue.

SCHOOL BOARD:

The board is interracial in membership. All board members are concerned with the welfare of the entire community, and with preserving a good education for the youngsters for the least amount of money, and with the least amount of volunteer time and energy on your part.

The fact that the community is so actively involved in this issue highlights the fact that elections for the school board are coming up in about two months and you were planning on running for re-election.

PARENTS:

Opinion is split in this group. On the one hand parents feel that they too have been excluded from influencing school policy. Obviously students are not learning fundamentals the way the parents did, and some of the students' stories about what goes on are very distressing. On the other hand, parents feel that students should make the best of what's given, and that teachers are probably doing as good a job as they can. The kids are getting pretty uppity every once in a while.

NEWSPAPER REPORTERS:

A group of newspaper reporters will have responsibility for reporting on the events during the simulation. You should feel free to act as newspaper reporters do: interviewing individuals or groups wherever or whenever you can, meeting as a group of reporters, writing up what you've found. Each reporter represents one of the following newspapers:

Daily Herald
Conservative Weekly
The Black Chronicle

POLICE:

Police officers are responsible to and should respond to requests for help from the school board chairman. Other than that, they can prosecute unlawful acts on their own.

CONSULTANT:

You are available on call if any group wishes your services. Do not independently enter the situation.

The effective use of this situation requires at least 25 people so that there can be 4-5 occupants in each role category. Approximately 15 minutes should be set aside for the general situation to be described, for each role group to meet and for people to "get into" their roles. Then they can decide what strategies to utilize in their roles. Between

30 and 45 minutes (longer if the action is obviously illuminating and exciting) should be planned for the school board meetings, other meetings, and whatever else is generated. At least 30 minutes should be spent in discussion of the issues raised.

Discussions of this situation should focus upon several different aspects of both the process of role playing and the outcomes of the simulation. With regard to the process itself, participants in various groups can be asked to assess the degree of realism they felt in their roles, the degree of real feelings such as anger, defense, etc., they felt toward members of other roles, and any personal insights they had into the roles they played. Discussions of the outcomes of the situation can focus upon the ways racism, youth oppression and professionalism were or were not evident as major factors. The manner in which conflict was generated in the scene, the extent to which it was escalated, controlled or utilized positively by any and all parties, and the extent to which basic issues became overwhelmed by hurt feelings and side fights, would also be important. Special attention should be paid to the various uses of collaboration and coalition formation that might have occurred, as well as any breakdown of apparent coalitions as the drama progressed. It may also be fruitful to share other ways each or any group might have played out their roles to come to more advantageous resolutions for themselves. Some examples of specific questions include:

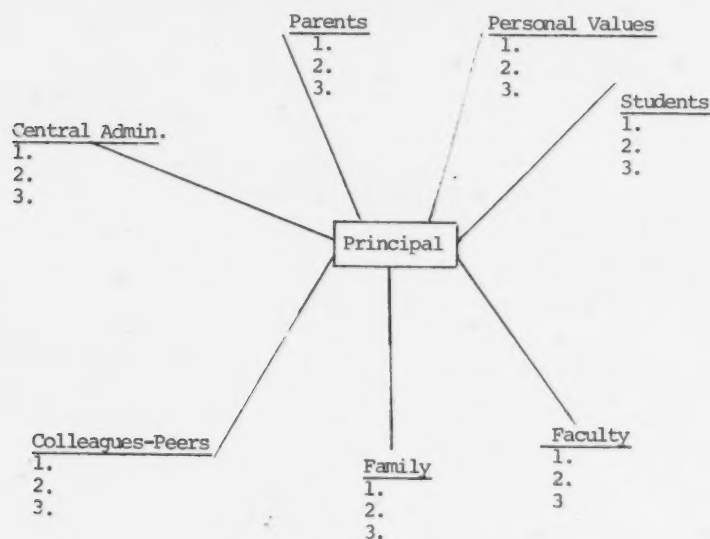
What part of the role playing offered solutions or suggested modifications and compromises? How cohesive were the various individual groups? What were some of the signs of togetherness? What were some of the bases of "togetherness?" What coalitions or patterns of common interest occurred between groups? How difficult was it for contending groups to integrate into a meaningful whole? If difficult--why? What kinds of leadership did you see manifested? Who played the various leadership roles? Did the administrative group provide change-oriented or status-quo-oriented leadership? How did the school board act as a potential integrator of a divided community?

What happened to contending groups at the end of the exercise? Were they all coming together, were they joining into one another, or were they still maintaining their separateness? At the end of the exercise what happened to leadership, to the group cohesiveness of separate groups? How does this relate to survival? What kinds of things did the consultant do? Which group did he work for? Did he try to be neutral? How did different groups feel about him?

Another important focus of discussion lies in examining the transition from the role play situation itself to local issues in the high school or community from which participants come. Inquiry can focus on which of the issues and dynamics created in the drama are real, and in what ways, for the local scene.

With these perspectives in mind, one can go back to several of the other structured role playing situations and view them again. This time, one could look carefully for evidence of conflict that results from different groups' interests or values, conflict that results from intergroup misunderstanding, and the interface between these two aspects of organized differences. Further, those scenes can be reviewed in the context of new behavior that might more positively utilize conflicts generated for the attainment of each group's partisan goals.

The simulation exercise illustrates many of the competing forces operating on administrators and on members of other groups. Another way to identify those personal and situational forces that effect educational leadership is to start with the following diagram, and to ask the target individual, trainee or role group, to fill in the expectations and demands made by various agents of influence.



Once this chart is filled out the following questions can be raised:

- what resources do you now have and what resources do you need, to deal with the conflicts and pressures?
- what internal conflicts appear within any grouping?
- what conflicts over priorities between major groupings are obvious?
- whose priorities are most important? Why?
- what are some ways of dealing with competing pressures from different groups?

Several procedures also may be utilized to examine some of the communication problems involved in school conflict, those rooted in perceptual misunderstandings and stereotypes. A design suited for this purpose can start with a request that participants form themselves into status-alike, race-alike groups. These instructions should result in the creation of a black student group, a brown student group, a white student group, a black teacher-adult group, and a white teacher-adult group and so on. Each group can then be asked to list the perceptions they have of the people in any or all other groups, and the ways they think people in the other groups see them. When each group has compiled such listings they can be posted on the wall of a meeting room, and members of all groups can cluster around these sheets to see the collective stereotypes and images other people have been generating. Some examples of such inter-group perceptions as they occurred in one workshop are listed below:

WHAT ADULTS THINK OF STUDENTS

Cherish individuality
Self confident
Eager and energetic
Resistance to seeing both sides of the question
Bewildered about how to accept responsibility
Bored with school/disinterest
Feelings of inequity with structure in school
Sense of powerlessness

WHAT STUDENTS THINK OF ADULTS

Think they are correct because they are older
Some making honest effort
Less outspoken
Passive toward each other when principal is there
Take things too personally
Don't really listen
Curious of students' point of view
Principal is a sly dog

WHAT BLACK STUDENTS THINK OF WHITE STUDENTS

False friendship
Submissive, passive
Friendly when there are many of them and few of you
Resent Black Student Union
Can't face reality
White people don't even want to be white

WHAT WHITE STUDENTS THINK OF BLACK STUDENTS

Stayed with themselves
Suspicious about what is going on
Knew what they wanted
Rebellious
More open, direct and sharp
Think basic and only problems are racial problems
More ready to stand up for what they believe

After these posted sheets are seen by all persons present, heterogeneous groups can be formed to permit further exploration and confrontation of the meanings, assumptions, misperceptions and priorities underlying these different views of one another.

A Summary of Issues

The most succinct way to summarize the issues discussed in this chapter may be for the reader to examine the following list of assumptions which spans the issues raised herein. Such assumptions can be used as provocative statements in a variety of training designs. Another way to use this list would be to review some action, perhaps the call from the superintendent on pages 11 and 12, and see how many of these assumptions

are relevant to that telephone conversation. They seem to summarize and pinpoint issues and can raise the level of dialogue and pro and con discussions of a conceptual nature early in the game.

- Conflict is a normal part of relations between people with different roles, backgrounds, goals, values, access to rewards, etc.
- Students and teachers usually have different goals for their activities in school. Even people who share goals often have conflicts over the means to attain these goals.
- When large numbers of students resent and distrust the control mechanisms employed by educational professionals, the effect is to undermine the collective and legitimate authority of the school.
- Students' desires to control their own lives and to influence the behavior of others in order to make their demands heard and implemented are at the roots of many protests and school disruptions.
- Institutional racism is a major determinant of failure and crisis in schools.
- White students are socialized and trained in public schools in ways that perpetuate racism in the society. Black and brown students are trained in ways which perpetuate white racism and white control. Institutional racism alienates white students and black students from each other and from schools.
- The political and economic interests of professionals support both institutional racism and adult control of students in schools.
- The educational process is the mechanism by which information, values and power are passed from one generation to the other, and is structured and operated in such a way as to select and prepare (socialize) those from the younger generation who will inherit and maintain this power.
- Poor people and minority people's expression of their self-interests is seen as aberrant by white middle-class professionals and managers of social systems. What is necessary for the survival of poor people, minority people or the young is often a threat to the comfort and power of the privileged.
- Conflict has many positive functions for organizations. It does so partly because its use identifies problems, illustrates directions of needed change, and requires people who may otherwise ignore each other to deal with one another.

-- Schools are a reflection of community priorities, problems and concerns. For schools to change in major ways requires major changes in parts of the community or between the school and the community.

IV. Retraining Consultants: the Processes and Strategies of Change

In this chapter we delineate some of the strategic skills required for consultants seeking to play meaningful roles in the process of changing schools. We have assumed a thorough reading of the issues described in Chapter III, because the skills discussed here are based upon the assumptions and diagnoses contained there. Some strategies we stress may be different than those noted in other training programs for educational and community change agents because the change processes we think are essential are tuned to our diagnosis of the key issues. As we discuss each area, we delineate some sample training programs or episodes that can be used in retraining consultants and change agents.

Values and Goals of the Change Agent

We have stressed heretofore the role of values and goals as key components of all change efforts. The consultant's personal values and ideology are prime factors in his ability to identify relevant clients, make important diagnoses, and decide where to apply his skills. Value-neutral change does not exist, nor does a value-neutral or value-free change agent. Overt or covert, establishmentarian or anti-establishmentarian, racist or anti-racist, it is vital for the change agent to know where he or she stands. It is also important for his clients or constituents to know where he stands.

It is equally important for the change agent to know how to assess the values and goals of others. He must be able to cut through vague rhetoric and determine what is really meant by various parties' claims to "quality education," "discipline," "change" and the like. Often vaguely stated values are unconnected with actual behavior; in many ways performance is the only basis for assessing real value preferences. The consultant also must be able to help people consider the groundings of their values and their implications for others; only in this way can a false consensus be exposed and new and honest coalitions developed. Only in this way can the consultant decide who to work with and how to work with them.

Training episodes that focus upon values and goals. The entire range of training episodes discussed in Chapter III can be utilized to focus upon the exploration and confrontation of value issues. The person who engages in these activities must remember that values are seldom unitary or simple, and that most of the time people being trained will experience or express ambivalent perspectives and priorities. This is to be expected; often consultants will find unclarity or confusion about their own and others' positions. But exploration cannot stop there, it should proceed to the clarification of confusions and resolutions--albeit temporary--of these dilemmas. Values and goals such as those discussed in Chapter III do in fact guide and rationalize one's work, and they are not merely reflections unconnected to actual change efforts.

Another set of value issues concerns the choice of clients and situations within which the consultant elects to work. All strategies embody values--values about appropriate and inappropriate means--and different strategies lead to differently valued outcomes or end results. Consultants considering entering a system need to examine their own values involved in such efforts in terms of the issues noted on pages 13 and 14. A review of those issues focusses on:

- what the consultant's own goals are for wanting to be of help in this situation
- which party's goals, values or needs the consultant can identify with most clearly
- what the relation is between the consultant's personal and situational values and his repertoire of strategies for change
- how open and honest the consultant is prepared to be about his values--and with whom.

Attempts to clarify or explore others' goals in schools can also be derived from exercises and items in Chapter III. Individuals or groups may be asked to identify, react to or reflect upon their own values and goals with respect to key school issues. So many collectivities identify common or competing values which separate or integrate them with other groups.

One especially fruitful device is to collect and make public information regarding different groups' values and goals on school-related issues. Whether done in quantified form or through more descriptive

means, such public portrayals may help members of an entire institution understand more about their valued commitments, dilemmas and disagreements. Some techniques for collecting such information are illustrated in the section in this chapter on school diagnosis.

Risk and Commitment

Any attempt to act on these values for meaningful school change can expect to meet with resistance from those who prefer or who benefit from the status quo. To the extent that people who resist change have access to system power they can make life difficult for those advocating change. For instance, adolescents who object to or reject traditional school values and life-styles often have been labelled as disturbed, alienated, rebellious and acting-out youth. Minority members who challenge majoritarian life styles and school procedures often have been labelled disadvantaged, deprived or troublesome. This war of words serves further to place some students at a disadvantage in seeking post-school recommendations and employment. Suspensions and expulsions are even more extreme examples of some risks students encounter in trying to change their schools.

The escalation of protest in school has resulted in even more open political responses, culminating in the use of legal procedures in attempts to curb and control student disruption and activism. A consultant entering a school under crisis is now vulnerable to various legal resistance and reaction, and no formal verbal or written contractual agreement with the school system can grant immunity from potential prosecution as a "contributor to the delinquency of a minor," or a "conspirator to deny others their rights." This is especially the case, of course, if one should cross state lines. Change agents entering a school system prior to crisis conditions are more likely to become "conspirators" if a crisis should occur. They may always be seen and tagged informally as "outside agitators" contributing to riotous conditions.

The kinds of action change agents decide are necessary to bring about change often run counter to the normal expectation that they as professionals will be part of the professional "club" and will protect the

priorities and reputations of other educational professionals and institutions. The price of deviance from these norms often is ostracism from one's peers, and potential retaliation and sanctions from the governing bodies of professional associations and agencies. This is especially the case for change agents quartered in or near our major universities; these institutions are deeply committed to minor deviations from the status quo, and major innovations highlight the politically conservative character of their professional priorities. Often, then, innovative consultants and change agents have their own institutional base eroded, and they may suffer professional and economic sanctions for the work they do.

In order to overcome this resistance some old consultant styles and behavior patterns will have to be jettisoned. Over and above the issues of ideological commitment to new programs, change agents will need to develop new personal priorities and ways of behaving. Consultants' anxieties may be high and stomachs may rumble at deviant and risky action on behalf of students or minority groups. Breaks with one's personal past, previous clients and perhaps the profession require support and new forms of collegiality or they will not endure. The care and feeding of high risk change agents is not merely a matter of maintaining personal commitments, but of building a support system so that persons on the political frontier of school change can check with each other, learn from each other and give one another strength to endure.

Given these perspectives, consultants will have to decide what kinds of commitments and risks they can take in utilizing conflict as leverage for short and long-term changes. Not every agent can take the same risks. Some persons may be very willing to risk loss of respect but not loss of income; for others exactly the reverse may be true. Risks may be taken in the service of one cause that may not be taken for another. All too often we judge risk-taking ability or commitment as a yes-no affair, and fail to work with persons in varying positions on this continuum. Similarly, commitment is often confused with willingness to engage in interpersonal conflict and confrontation. Not only is that not a universally effective strategy, it also is a poor way to assess as complex and important an item as commitment. There are many change agents quite effective at interpersonal confrontation who are

inadequate at planning and maintaining a program of organizational change. Likewise, there are many others without the stomach for interpersonal conflict who can be very helpful in designing new structures. Many different kinds of commitments and levels of risk taking can be respected and useful in change programs. What is vital is that the change agent be aware of his own position and of its full political consequences--he owes this much to himself as well as to his clients and colleagues.

Of course, these issues also face the persons the consultant works with--the entire range of clients. Since the clients usually are encapsulated within a single institution, one which they all may be dependent upon for income, security and education, the risks and potential retaliations they may endure may be even more potent and dangerous than those directed toward external consultants. Obviously, these issues have to be explored with these groups as well as within the consultant or consultant group.

Training episodes that focus on risk and commitment. Clarity around values is only the beginning of an effective consultant role. The implementation of values in skillful behaviors that create change, even in the face of resistance, is more to the point. But neither values nor skills exist in a personal or political vacuum. It is vital to assess commitment, to discover just where and how far each person is willing to go in using his or her skills and acting upon his or her values. Only with such information, probably tested over a long period of time in real situations, can people in difficult and high conflict scenes really know and trust whether and how they are likely to act or depend upon one another.

One important focus of risk or commitment training involves learning how to assess accurately the risks involved in any concrete action program. Naiveté is a major barrier to effective action, and often it is a subtle attempt to deny or ignore real risks. Persons who are planning a program should be asked to assess the nature of the resistance they expect, and where and how they expect it. Then they can determine and openly discuss the probable power of that resistance to increase

the personal costs of change efforts. Various costs or risks may be listed or categorized under the following headings.

Kind of risk	What I am committed to risking in this area	Probability of this risk actually occurring
1. Economic loss		
2. Physical danger		
3. Loss of self- esteem		
4. Legal action		
5. Loss of political credibility		
6. Professional sanctions		
7. Career threats		

Each person is likely to experience different risks in the same situation. Partly this is a function of personal experiences, values and styles, but it may also be due to the different organizational affiliations and job security which persons bring to an action scene. Even people faced with the same risks may evaluate and act upon them differently. It is important for training activities to clarify the real connections between riskiness of an activity and its choice as a change strategy. For instance, most of us do not like to admit we are afraid; thus we invent various rationales for not using a given strategy when the real reason may be we're just plain scared. None of these concerns are necessarily signs of weakness or lack of commitment; they are real variables that must impinge on any strategy decision. However, they must impinge openly so they can be seen for what they are! Otherwise we will confuse strategy choices with risk-taking behavior. Thus, in a training program it is especially important to generate careful and honest thinking about individuals' personal perceptions and commitments regarding the risks and payoffs to them of any change strategy and program.

In addition to the determination of probable risk, another training activity may be to engage in change-oriented behavior that on a small scale can test the risks involved. For instance, in a workshop to train students as change agents a practical experience could be added such as their attending a school board meeting and trying to make their positions known. In this way students may learn how a mild confrontation

with adults feels before they get into more "up-tight" scenes. Similarly, blacks and whites planning to work together may practice rapping harshly in order to prepare each other for the risks to ego and esteem accompanying politically tense interracial situations. A program to prepare change-agents in anti-racism work may include the requirement that participants advocate a draft of their program to members of the poor white community around the school.

Another training activity may examine or re-examine a series of realistic situations for its contribution to learning about levels of risk-taking and commitment. For instance, when a consultant receives the letter from a high school student presented on page 13, and discovers that the students there have no source of funds to pay him, does he continue to consult with them and provide them with his services free? When the university-based change agent has his conversation with a university department chairman, noted on page 42, does he say, "I'm going ahead anyway," and continue to work as an activist? When a student is told by a counselor that his college record will carry poor grades in deportment if he continues to protest school conditions, does he continue? When the principal tells the consultant that continued work in confronting the faculty will result in the premature cancellation of the consultant's contract, what does he do? When a governmental agency tells that consultant that an open stress on racism is not the way to deal with desegregation training, and that its continuation threatens federal support for programs, what does he do? When the police threaten faculty members working on a student strike with "aiding and abetting the delinquency of minors," what do they do? How far will a white change agent go in accepting the direction of a minority controlled team? How much of his own credibility in the white community is he willing to endanger in outright collaboration with militant or protesting blacks? How much will minority consultants risk in open collaboration with not very tried and trusted whites? The list of risky situations could go on forever. But the real personal risks of any change campaign must be laid out ahead of time, at least insofar as they can be seen. And the commitments required and expected of all parties also should be explicated. The rest is a matter of trust... trust until the time for test arrives. For ultimately, the best test and training for risk and commitment is not in a training program but is in the field.

Client Making and Contracting

School systems facing crisis seek consultant help either to maintain traditional forms of operation or to change for improved education. When a school system makes a contract with a consultant it usually means the administration itself is requesting his or her services. Part of what is desired is the administration's improved capacity to fulfill its leadership functions. But work on racism or shared power often is threatening to professionals; the outcomes of such programs may challenge administrators' expertise and power to make educational policy decisions. In those cases it will be important to present the goals and procedures of change-making in such a way so it is not very threatening. Real risks should not be hidden or denied, but issues and problems should be presented in ways that do not psychologically debilitate people and scare them from making any progress. Otherwise, it will be hard to gain access to the school and to the relevant parties in the conflict. Consultants who work with this group must be wary of their efforts to resist important changes and to maintain traditional administrative control through manipulative management techniques. If the consultant does not wish this to happen and cannot guard against such use of his services he ought not to contract to serve that group.

Any group will try to make use of consultant services for its unique advantage. Students may seek an adult professional simply to lend legitimacy to their demands, faculty members to re-establish classroom control, and so on. The natural plurality and conflict among varied school parties makes it necessary for the consultant to exercise great care in the selection of a client and in explicit delineation of a contract. It must be clear what the consultant can and cannot, or will and will not, promise to deliver. Otherwise the situation can become quite precarious, for some educators will try to discharge their responsibilities or lay the blame for crisis conditions onto the consultant. Any client who is dissatisfied with the consultant may make him a political scapegoat. Other clients, who may be pleased with what has happened, may try to take complete credit themselves for "a job well done." No contract can guarantee legal immunity or professional security in a political change process, but it can clarify operational goals and expectations.

Obviously there are many forward-looking people ready and willing to take the risks necessary to bring about positive change in the underlying conditions of our schools. These clients or constituents, regardless of their status as adults or students, professionals or lay persons, are the most appropriate contacts for consultants and change agents committed to the goals of this manual.

Agreement between the consultant and the school system, or a component of the system, regarding the conditions of a contract and initial entry into the system is a crucial determinant of future flexibility and success. In some cases the educator or student group seeking help will have defined its goals and desired relationships with the consultant prior to entry. If this has not been done it needs to be the first order of business. No meaningful consultant relationship can be begun if the parties to the agreement do not know to what goals they are committed. Moreover, they can go nowhere--nowhere but to chaos and rancor--if they have not clarified their mutual expectations regarding one another's behavior and relationships.

Only with all these perspectives in hand can the change agent make wise strategic choices. For instance, if the consultant feels that being called into an escalated protest scene by a school board will alienate him from other parties with whom he needs to work, he can try to gain entry through a different part of the system. He may make entry and be responsible to a student or community group, perhaps with the knowledge and approval of the school board. In some cases the issue is not just entry but, in fact, choice of client; then it may be appropriate for the consultant to avoid the school board and to wait for or to encourage a call directly from the community or student group with whom he wishes to work. Since direct work with a student group may alienate a consultant from the administrative staff of a school, he may wish special help in reaching out to and having interaction with members of that leadership cadre. On the other hand, since loyalty to the administration also may be a barrier to effective school change, an agreement to be the agent of no special interest may be most appropriate. In our experience, however, the latter choice usually ends up meaning accountability only to oneself or rather subtly to the administration. As our discussion of conflict

has pointed out, there are multiple definitions of the general public welfare, or how the general welfare affects special interests. So the claim to be acting in the general welfare either overlooks the fact that there are only specific welfares, or that the general welfare is a pseudonym for one's own definition of a preferred state of affairs--in other words one's own values and goals.

No matter how the prime client is defined, early in the entry process there is a need for links into various parts of the system--administrators, faculty, parents of students, students, community leaders, news media--if consultants are to be most effective. Major changes affect and are affected by, relations among all parts of the school system, and any effective program of change must connect to and include plans for all components. This is not to say all these links should be open and public, or maintained with great intensity. Nor do we mean to suggest that all components are the consultant's clients, or that all their needs will be met in equal degree, but they must be accounted for, and the earlier the better. Our own preference, discussed in a later section, is to use consultant teams composed of people who have had experience working with various groups in a school system.

A contract that has been agreed upon must be reviewed continually. Any party may try to alter contractual agreements or make them unclear as it suits their purpose--as their immediate needs are met or when the crisis subsides. If such should occur, and if the client refuses to re-focus its commitment on school change, then the contractual agreements have been broken and the relationship should be terminated. Obviously, the consultant is free then to work with other groups to bring pressure to bear on the system to change. The timing around such acts is difficult to ascertain, and consultants must be highly sensitive to how their resources may be exploited by even well intentioned educators, students and/or community groups.

Training episodes that focus upon client making and contracting.

It is clear that the selection of and agreement upon the nature of the client is a key issue in any consultant or change-agent activity. The word, client, is itself a product of a professional set of assumptions

about one's relations to a group of people; some change agents will prefer the terms constituent, partner or co-worker. In either case, what is required is a clear sense of one's goals and of the degree to which any group's self interests are to be met by the advocacy or attainment of these goals. Formal contracts then may be more or less explicit or implicit with persons or groups with whom one works.

One effective way to train change agents in the selection or development of a client or constituency group is to provide role playing experiences where the trainee encounters members of the class of people he seeks to work with or for. It is also possible to do real-life practice, and for the trainee actually to enter the specific community and talk to members, perhaps representatives, of the parties whose interests he seeks to advocate. Perhaps the first issue is to ensure entry--a procedure that is not always forthcoming when a powerful person may hold the key to the door. Trainees can role play entry processes and their attendant dilemmas in the following terms:

- in a telephone call, convince a school administrator who wants your help, but who is reluctant to let you have complete access, that you need to talk with the student protestors before you talk with him when you come to the school.
- in a scene in the school cafeteria convince a group of wary students that you can be depended upon to advocate their interests.
- create a role play indicating the dilemmas a white consultant experiences trying the above example with a group of black students.
- create a situation wherein a black consultant tries the same scene with a group of white students... now with a group of black students.
- in a scene with your alter-ego reflect upon the problems you have designing and getting approval for a re-training program for administrators who do not share your change goals.

Any attempt to role play these scenes should be followed by extensive debriefing of the behaviors and feelings encountered.

Often these same issues are raised in the initial written response to a call for help. We have provided below a sample letter of positive response to a school superintendent's request for consultant entry to his crisis-ridden school system.

Dr. Lawrence Good
Superintendent of Schools

Dear Doctor Good:

In schools throughout the nation, violent and non-violent protest have become endemic. In the North and South, in the East and West, black students are at odds with white students and white teachers and white and black students often bond together against administrators, teachers and parents. The cleavages between the generations evidently are as deep as the cleavages between the races.

The forces that generate such activities cannot be attributed to any one particular source inside or outside of the school. Clearly, many schools have become the arenas where societal frustrations and feelings of alienation are expressed. However, the school adds to such alienation with its own bureaucratic structure and style. Thus, often what might seem to be an insignificant issue may unleash a flood of protest and demand for change, causing administrators and teachers to think about doing many things differently.

Under such conditions third parties often have to be brought in for meaningful closure on disputes between protesting students and educators. As one such third party, we operate from a value-centric point of view; there are certain educational changes we feel will make the school more responsive to interest groups involved. Democratizing school decision-making is one way in which it may become more responsive to the educational needs of all its students. A clear commitment to anti-racist programming and structures is another. A successful strategy which has been used to move toward these goals is the teaching of negotiation skills to all groups involved so they will have more skill working out their differences.

Although we would enter your school system at the administration's request, we feel that we must have equal access to all interest groups. Only in this way can we act as consultants to the system and not just to the administrator. In our work we typically spend more time with students; usually they are the weakest link in the negotiation chain. Since we will be in the system at your request during a time of inflamed feelings and high tension, we cannot be held accountable for the way groups act on the intensity of their concerns.

We are committed to attaining quality educational change by improving the ways students, parents, teachers and administrators come together to work out their differences. Obviously this takes time, and we would expect to continue working for quality educational change subsequent to the immediate crisis at hand.

Respectfully,

Consultant

Preferably in a group, discuss your reactions to this letter and to the issues raised by it. In particular, note and discuss the following items.

In what ways does the letter spell out some of the potential activities a consultant or change agent might be engaged in?

Is the issue of risk dealt with in any serious way? Is the question of the educators' commitment dealt with adequately?

What is said, and how clearly, about the consultant's values and perspectives?

What is said about the nature or limits on the consultant's accountability? To people? For events?

Does the letter spell out some requirements and conditions of access?

What is said or implied about long term involvement?

Is the letter likely to be too threatening to the reader?

Is the letter devious?

Consider how you might deal with each of these issues differently.

Perhaps better. Perhaps from a different perspective.

Since it is important to test the client's degree of commitment prior to making a contract, it appears most appropriate for the change agent to request clear public support from a client or constituency group regarding goals, payoffs and risks. On this basis a clearer commitment can be obtained and, therefore, a more meaningful contract can be made. This proposition does not mean that the change agent or consultant must be open and clear with all parties regarding his change goals. We assume such a position is naive and probably dangerous, especially when one is dealing with potential opponents. But the consultant must be open with his own clientele or constituency; they are the ones with whom a consultant or change agent makes an agreement to work. Persons trying to develop skill in initiating contracts under these circumstances may practice writing some one page sample designs or proposals to meet the following situations.

With a superintendent to provide a program of four weeks intermittent duration (ten sessions) to retrain his immediate staff of 8 people in conflict utilization.

With a principal to provide a week-end program to retrain 1/2 of his 100 person faculty in techniques of working in interracial education.

With a school board to provide continuing at-the-elbow consultation to their efforts to redesign the school system's administrative structure.

With a faculty group to design and plan the implementation of a multi-ethnic curriculum in contemporary intergroup relations and racism.

With a group of white middle class students to provide help in structuring an academic program providing them with greater autonomy in their learning modes.

With an interracial group of students to establish a structure for student-faculty governance of the school. And with the same group of students to provide them with training to man and operate that structure.

With a community group to help them put pressure on the school to listen to and agree to their demands for quality education, and for parent representation in educational policy-making.

If possible, these sample proposals should be checked with a lawyer for specific advice on the legal issues one must be clear about including or omitting.

Often the exchange of funds is a good indication of the commitment of a given group to a change program. Of course, this is not always the case regarding funds; especially if one has funds to spare they can be used to substitute for, rather than be real evidence of, a commitment. Regardless of the meaning of funds for levels of commitment, money is typically an important component of any contract. Review the 7 proposals just suggested and written in the prior exercise, and place a price tag on the implementation of each one. In setting price, be sure to note what expenses need to be covered by the funds requested. Be especially attentive to what remuneration goes to the consultant, and how such rates may vary with different clients. If this exercise is done in a group, different members can share their individual pricing lists, and compare the assumptions and needs each made in determining the levels of funds affixed.

The selection of a client or constituency group is based in part on the values and goals the change agent or consultant has, partly on the groups that are interested in or available to him, and partly on the change deemed feasible in a given situation. It is crucial, therefore, to have a diagnosis of the local school situation, its needs and potentials

for change, prior to an agreement about contract or client/constituency selection. In the next section we discuss some diagnostic techniques.

Developing Strategies for School Diagnosis

For constructive changes to take place in school life, relevant and applicable change goals and strategies must be employed. A proper diagnosis of school conditions is essential in order to develop such goals and strategies. We have indicated that clear identification of values is the first step. Tying broad values to specific objectives or change goals is next. But this step can be accomplished best if it is abetted by adequate information about the local situation--information that can help illuminate objectives and inform the feasibility of certain goals. Once the client or constituency group has agreed on changes to be sought, or goals to be aimed for, another level of diagnosis is required. This second form of strategic information seeks to ferret out the sources of support for and resistance to the kinds of changes being sought. It is more pointed than the first form of information. Rather than focusing on certain issues in the organization, it focuses on the locus of strength of various factions with regard to certain issues. If done well, both these kinds of information can be gathered at the same time.

Information is a form of power, and in a social situation where few people really know what's going on, the person who has taken the trouble to find out has a great deal of potential power. So the conduct of a diagnosis should be accompanied by care and concern for the use of the data. For instance, if the diagnosis reveals information about the state of the students' or community's political organization, and the names and strategies of leaders of anti-school groups, school leaders undoubtedly will want such information; it is in their self-interest to have it and to use it to prepare their own defense. If the consultant is clearly working for the administration he will provide it; if he trusts the administration to use it well, whatever that means, he also may provide it. But if he is working for or attuned to the interests of students or community groups, he will withhold such volatile data from school administrators. Thus, it is clear how the problems of values and client selection affect the conduct and use of a diagnosis.

The kinds of data gathered and the ways they are gathered obviously have major implications for later interventions and change designs. Sometimes the attempt to gain such information is so potent that the act of gathering it itself may be the first step in intervention and change. Therefore, it is important for the consultant to have immediate access to various interest groups, and to ensure that data-gatherers can carry on interviews and collect diagnostic information from a variety of different sources. Data-gatherers or interviewers may be part of a group the consultant brings with him or especially trained persons from the local school or community. If the former, the consultant can be assured of their skills and loyalty. If the latter, problems of entry into the local scene are diminished, but so is the possibility of getting information unclouded by the interviewers own local interests. If local persons are used they must be provided with special training in getting the information needed. Of course, this may have a salutary effect on the local scene, since those trained individuals represent an additional system resource for the future.

While it is ideal to gather information from all major groups in the school, some groups may refuse to participate in such information gathering. The more clear the partisanship of the emergent change attempt, or the more polarized the different groups in the school, the more likely it is that some members of the school will refuse to participate in efforts to gather information relevant to particular aspects of school change. This situation should be expected and if it occurs attempts to gather information will need to turn to cooperative key informants.

Some of the questions listed below seem to be essential in the diagnostic phase of a change program. Most of these questions are focused on school conditions where actual outbreaks of overt conflict have occurred, but they can be modified easily to fit situations with more covert conflict.

What are the issues being protested? Which are educational? Which are overtly racial? Oriented to the distribution of power? How are they related to external, non-educational issues?

What is the history of prior crises? Have students been previously "cooled off?" Were other attempts at presenting grievances tried? Have prior promises been broken? How did the original conflict escalate? What are various parties' expectations about this situation compared to any previous crises?

What is the level of organization of the students or community? To what extent are their needs or demands clearly articulated? To what extent are they able (or willing) to negotiate? Is negotiation relevant to their needs?

What is the group membership of the protesting groups? What are the sympathies of those not involved in the protest? What is the membership of those resisting or opposed to the protest?

What, in general, is the quality of education in this school and community? Are facilities and performance the same or different for black, white or brown students?

Closely related to information about protests and protesting groups is the importance of discovering the condition and immediate reactions of the school administrators and teachers.

To what extent are central administrative personnel involved directly? What is the relationship between the central office and local school administrators? To what extent do either fear the possible loss of their jobs?

To what extent have local administrators closed off or opened up certain alternatives? Have they already been repressive? Have they attempted to work through and understand the protestors' demands, or are they reacting on the basis of keeping things under control? How did they respond at first?

What does the faculty feel should be done now? How do they assess the changes requested? How do they assess the quality of education in this school? What are the divisions within the faculty? How much power do the various factions have?

Is there any substantial support, or potential support, from educators for student or community demands?

Another element in the diagnosis of escalated conflict is the need to ascertain the extent to which the disturbances have been limited to the school and school building. Questions that might be asked are:

To what extent have the media dealt with the conflict?

To what extent have administrators outside the school been involved in school decision-making? Has the school board held community meetings related to the issues?

To what extent have students or adults from outside the school been involved on any side? To what extent have the police been involved? To what extent have teacher unions or associations been involved?

To what extent have political officials (e.g., the mayor) been involved directly in the situation?

Following the collection of such information, the consultant should assimilate what data gatherers have retrieved from the various sources and groups interviewed or involved in school conflict. Such information should be discussed thoroughly and gone over in detail to insure that the consultant has an accurate diagnosis of the issues, organizational dynamics and feeling-tones that exist between conflicting parties. If time does not permit such information to be retrieved in detail, then the first part of the change design should encourage those multiple issues to surface, preferably by interest groups working separately and then together in public meetings.

Another way to conduct a diagnosis is to use quantitatively oriented survey instruments. Some illustrative questions that can be asked in this way include the following:

FOR STUDENTS

1. For you, how true are these statements about what happens at your school?

	Not at all true				Very True
Students can feel free to disagree with their teachers openly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel tense and fearful in the school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Some troublemakers make things seem worse than they really are.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Students are punished without knowing the reason for it.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I can see the principal any time I want to.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
You need permission to do anything around here.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Not at all true			Very True		
My school solves its own problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parents object to the way teachers teach.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parents cause students of different backgrounds or races to hate each other.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2. How your school is run depends a lot on who decides about plans, budgets, rules, courses, hiring, student activities, and so forth.

In general, how much say or influence to you feel each of the following really has in how your school is run? Please check one box for each type of person listed.

	No Influence			A Great Deal of Influence		
the principal and assistants	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
parents of students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
you, yourself	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the school board	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

FOR TEACHERS

3. How often do you think the following happens at your school?

	Never			Almost Always		
How often do students get into fights with each other?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How often do students and teachers get into argu- ments with each other?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How often do students of different races call each other names?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How often do you hear of a student forcing someone to give over money or a per- sonal possession?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Never				Almost Always
How often do you hear of a student hitting a teacher in your school?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
How often do you hear about a teacher hitting a student? (corporal punishment)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Questionnaires distributed to large numbers of randomly selected students and faculty members may provide a good general description of how the school and school activities are viewed. Often, however, such instruments provide data that is too static, or too tuned to the particular questions asked. On both counts they may be more abstract than helpful, but the quantitative survey is a useful complement to other more informal ways of gathering information about a school. It may be particularly useful when one wishes to compare data from several schools quickly and easily.

It is also possible to augment this form of data collection by deliberately seeking to get special information from one or another group, perhaps to over-sample some groups. For instance, if the consultant wants to identify the key grievances students have, a broad random sample of students may show that many have only a few passionate concerns and do not state them very clearly. This may give him little information on the issues. It may also convince him that protesting students have a narrow power base. In order to get the data he needs the consultant may have to violate usual scientific survey procedures and over-sample the portions of the student group that are more outspoken and organized with respect to their grievances. In this way he can get a clearer picture of the issues. He may also understand the deep-seated concerns that change a narrow power base into a broad one overnight. Perhaps both pieces of information are important; but the number of adherents and the nature of the issues are relevant in different ways to different school conditions and change programs.

A third way to gather relevant data is to construct a real life situation in which various members of the school system encounter each other on basic issues that are relevant and important to them. Often this can be done in the context of a workshop or diagnostically oriented

training event. When a consultant or change agent plans such an event he ought to have the focus clearly in mind; a workshop oriented to diagnosis is quite different from one focusing on change. These two goals are not mutually exclusive, and any workshop may do several things at once, but the priorities must be clear so that good information can be gathered. For instance, in a diagnostically oriented workshop the consultant or change agent can address himself to: (1) organizing and inviting effective workshop participants who are at centers of communications chains; and (2) insuring conversation with a wide variety of people. He would not have to consider how to include people who are gatekeepers for later change programs. They may be included, of course, but the concern for information, not yet change, does effect selection patterns.

Diagnosis is a continuous process, and it is important that the consultant continue to get diagnostic input throughout the change effort. Only in this way can he keep abreast of the dynamics of changing school conditions and the interim effects of change programs.

Training episodes that focus on school diagnosis. The conduct of any diagnosis must be derived from a sense of what is important or likely to be important in the given situation, and the access available to the person or group conducting the diagnosis. In this manual we have stressed continually the importance of four major themes in school unrest and change: racism, oppression of youth, professionalism and organizational conflicts of interest and value. Any good diagnosis of a local school or local school issues must consider and gather data relevant to these four themes. Of course, in any given locale twists on these themes or other issues may appear relevant as well. It is essential that the change agent or consultant performing or analyzing a diagnosis be familiar with the realities and nuances of these themes in different local situations.

The concept of strategic information is probably more helpful than that of research data for purposes of diagnosis. One doesn't want to inquire into all issues, but only into those relevant for change plans. The training available to most academically oriented researchers is

thus not very helpful to most diagnostic efforts. Since much informal diagnosis is conducted through observational and conversational media, skills in this area are most important. Moreover, since the use of the data is of prime importance it will have to be gathered and interpreted in ways that ready it for meaningful use.

The most effective way of training persons to do effective diagnosis is for them to try it out under supervision. Since this is usually a low risk activity, it can be practiced with little concern for negative outcomes. In the midst of a crisis, of course, it is not low risk, and nothing should be "practiced" when the political scene heats up to that degree. Under "normal" circumstances individuals can enter a school (being sure to obtain permission first) or neighborhood and start up conversation with people around some aspects of their schools. In a slightly more formal vein they can ask some of the questions on pages 75-77. They can begin to test how it feels to ask questions of strangers, how it feels to probe, how it feels to hear information you like or don't like. When several persons engage in the same activity they can compare notes afterwards, sharing both the outcomes of their inquiry and their feelings about the process of asking for and receiving information. Cross-individual comparison and feedback is vital in order to help individuals understand the biasing effects their own personal values and styles may have on the information gathered. Of course, if it can be arranged that two trainees both interview the same respondent, it will be even easier to examine the effect of "interviewer bias."

A second form of training can involve persons in creating sample questions. Referring to the items on pages 77-79 as examples, trainees can create a series of questions aimed at discovering students' and teachers' views regarding various conditions in their school. For instance, questions could be written so as to elicit the degree to which respondents recognize and wish to alter the racism of their institution. In this regard, it may be helpful to refer back to the lists on page 28 to guide one to the arenas of school life about which questions may be asked. Similar exercises may be undertaken to design questions to ascertain all parties' perspectives on the quality of instruction in their school, staff morale, student goals and curricular preferences, levels of tension, etc. Preparing questions, and testing them in a give and

take interview with students or teachers, sharpens one's knowledge of the issues and of the dynamics of the interviewing situation. In those cases where scientific precision is desired, the questions generated can be tested with scholars or researchers in the area. This may be advisable when the findings are to be presented to an official body likely to be concerned about scientific legitimacy.

A simple tool that can be used to train people to diagnose the resources and barriers to change in any local situation, and that can help specify the planning and action-taking processes involved in change, is the force field. This technique usually is employed to identify and assess the forces encouraging and inhibiting a clearly defined change in a given institution or community. It provides a diagrammatic illustration of the potential resources for change and sources of stability or resistance to change. The force field technique generally assumes that at any single point in time an organization or community is relatively stable, and thus the forces for and against change are in balance--a status quo is maintained. The change-maker must upset this balance and overweigh the system in the direction of the change. The goal for change is listed at the top of the page. The forces pushing for change are listed in the left hand column with the forces pushing against change listed in the right hand column. Some of those forces may be in the organization itself, some within a subgroup or team within the organization, and some within certain individuals. Some, also may be located within the society at large. For instance, in the case of a local plan to reduce educational racism, the legacy of American racism must be considered a societal force pushing against change. The way a local school is structured so that teachers, students and the community have little to say about any local plan is an example of an organizational force against change. A community movement to press for quality interracial education may be an example of an organizational force for change. Small groups of teachers or students organized in either direction are examples of group forces. So are the media. And, finally, the personality of local administrators, the superintendent, or the human relations officer are examples of individual forces that may be arrayed on either side of the midline.

Force-Field Analysis

Change Goal: _____

Forces pushing for change Forces pushing against change

+

-

Societal	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Organizational	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Group	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Individual	_____	_____
	_____	_____

Once this diagram has been completed it may be shared, and different persons' identifications of local forces compared. It can be expected that some individuals will find it easy to assess group or individual forces, but not societal ones; others will be facile at the reverse. Thus, training can proceed to help each person assess the full range of local variables that must be considered.

Team or Cadre Selection and Training

We encourage our readers to take a team approach to school change agency. This position has dual aspects: (1) a consultant or change agent team working with components of the local school system; and (2) an internal team of change agents that constitutes a local cadre for leadership in ongoing change efforts. In either context it is clear that one person is unlikely to have all the necessary skills or be able to link to all the multiple groups involved in contemporary school change. But the notion of a team does not mean merely a collection of individuals; it refers to a close-knit group of persons who can trust and depend on one another. Usually it is advisable for a team to be heterogeneous, with members reflecting the different backgrounds and interests of differing cultural role and status groups and embodying a

wide mix of relevant and necessary skills. At the same time, it also is advisable for teams to be fairly homogeneous with respect to some basic values; all members should be in fairly high agreement on concerns such as racism and the oppression and control of youth in school. Some range of value differences is probably tolerable, but advocates of value-centric change must know and generally agree on where they are going-- or they will go nowhere. A school or a community naturally should contain a wide range of values, but a partisan change effort better serves the plural society by advancing a more limited set of concrete values.

The team approach to school change creates the need for highly skilled personal and human communication and political strategies among those persons on the team. As such, it requires a well coordinated effort with clarity about goals, roles and decision-making procedures. That is, clarity about who is the team leader, how decisions get made (e.g., by the team leader, majority rule, consensus) and who plays what roles. As important is the need for diagnostic and value clarity about the politics of professionalism, racism, the age-grade constraints of youth, and the commitment and desire to advocate for improved conditions enhancing student and teacher relations. Obviously these conditions can be attained only if a team meets often and works together in ways that attend to the clarification of these dynamics.

Before a team makes a commitment to work in a school it should know its own weaknesses and strengths, the level of its commitment and ability to advocate for black and brown and white groups, its willingness to trust and engage in risk-taking ventures, and its potential for work with students under crisis conditions. The nature of a team operation is such that everyone must be able to do their part well. It is also important to know the flexibility and lengths of time members can be available for school change efforts. If all members are employed full-time as school change agents that's one scene; most of the time, however, consultants or change agents are moonlighting or taking leave from other work roles. There is little point to working hard at establishing a team only to find several members constantly unable to get away from their other jobs. Scarce resources often are lost and precious time wasted unless such information is sought and secured early.

All persons on a team must be able to relate effectively to some local constituency; people who cannot fulfill these responsibilities must be given other roles or their work may cause considerable organizational and interpersonal pain to everyone else. If a team has difficulties or lack of skills in working with all constituencies or clients some clients may suffer from this lack of resources. For instance, if an adult consultant team proposes to work with students but has neither the inclination nor skill to do this, the student interest group may be cooled-out unnecessarily or caused to escalate inappropriately, gaining very little in terms of positive dividends. It is important, moreover, to decide whether various team members merely link to various groups or actually seek to advocate or facilitate their goals. Clarity with the client--with all potential clients--is essential here. One can be a link without being an advocate; and a team can have several links while maintaining a more limited advocate stance. For a team to attempt multiple group advocacy probably is fruitless: (1) the advocacy of several groups' welfare, like the advocacy of the general welfare, is the advocacy of no one's partisan interest; and (2) conflict among local groups is then replayed within the team, with no further guidelines for resolution.

Team members also must know the difference between the political and the interpersonal realms of social interaction. In a "tight" political scene black team members may talk in hostile terms toward white members. Such rhetoric may be based on political necessities and may not be intended to have interpersonal meaning for team members. Whites will have to understand this phenomenon or they will misinterpret communications and lose their effectiveness in the action scene. Similarly, blacks will have to understand and trust the political behaviors of whites who are working with less liberal elements in the white community. Black team members need to trust that whites will not lose their commitment to advocacy, to anti-racism, in the face of confrontations and pressure from such factions, even if their apparent behavior is not consistent with the team's underlying value commitments at certain times. Thus, it is important that team members maintain contact with one another so that they may understand what each is doing, keep each other honest, and maintain a focus on their change-oriented mission and priorities.

Thus far, the discussion has focused on the characteristics of an external team, and its need to be able to work together. In addition, long range change in schools requires a continuing base of internal leadership--an internal change team that can also withstand pressures, gain skills, and work together closely over time and space. An internal cadre for change must meet some of the same criteria as an external team. Members of a change cadre should be selected primarily on the basis of their general agreement with key value positions and goals stated earlier. As we have noted, some range of differences on these issues may be tolerable, but by and large we are discussing consciously partisan change--as opposed to non-conscious partisanship--and all change agents might as well be articulate and playful about the support system necessary for that partisanship.

Once potential members have been screened on the basis of some degree of value congruence, cadre members can be selected on the additional basis of a variety of life styles, roles, statuses and skills. Any cadre needs a heterogeneous status and skill mix. Further, it needs to develop ways of working together that stress interdependence, not competitive hostility among status and skill mixes. In all probability, the knowledge that there is a broad congruence of values and goals will help an otherwise diverse group desire to work together.

Any internal change cadre also must be selected and developed with a realistic view toward the present and future distribution of legitimate power within the school or community to be changed. It is obviously fruitless to select a cadre of people who are highly alienated from peers and supervisors in the school, regardless of their congruent values and good skill mix. Surely such a group may be able to bring about changes, but the choices of strategies and the other internal resources they can draw upon are likely to be highly limited. Therefore, it is important, if possible, to tap, infiltrate or otherwise connect cadre members with key sources of power and influence in the target system.

Training episodes that focus on team-building and cadre selection.
The primary foci in training around cadre selection and team building

are: (1) selecting members, (2) insuring or building value congruence and skill mixes, (3) forming tight working relations and trust systems that can carry people through risky and high pressure situations, (4) gaining role and decision-making clarity, and (5) insuring against isolation of the cadre from the rest of the school.

Word of mouth and informal communication channels often provide the best information systems for the preliminary selection of potential cadre and team members. But at some point in time potential members should be brought together so they may encounter each other, the consultants, the formal team or cadre leadership, and the change venture. At a workshop session, for instance, candidates for the team or cadre may enter discussions focusing on the value issues raised in Chapter III. The exercises presented therein provide several means of value-clarification, and should surface differences and similarities in values among persons and clusters of persons. In some cases potential team members may lead themselves through these activities. Or, a consultant team may call in an outsider for a special "consultant to consultants" role. A consultant team can of course provide leadership in these arenas to a local cadre.

Sophistication about others' values and styles, both in a cultural and a political sense, is also necessary. Team or cadre members should understand where they and other team members are on a broad set of answers to questions such as these:

ON RACISM

What are the dynamics of blacks' flagellation of some whites? Is there a sense of timing to a heavy rap on whites or is it done when it is felt? What happens when blacks do most of the talking on a team and whites pretend they don't understand? Can whites separate a black political "rap" from interpersonal insults and attacks? What are whites needs to be verbally flagellated by blacks?

What are whites' personal needs around control and how does that relate to racism? Can whites work under black leadership? Can they tolerate unilateral decisions from a black team member under crisis conditions? Are race, status, or personal appearances and style of a cadre likely to be important issues? Do whites hide behind highly abstract terms in order not to engage in gut-level issues and programs? Do whites in the group talk to other whites more so than blacks? Can whites use their resources to support black leadership in constructive ways?

ON YOUTH OPPRESSION

To whom do students address their questions in the team? What are students' needs to flagellate adults? What are students' needs to test, retest and control adults? Do the adults place students in an inferior position through an interview-interviewee role (e.g., Tell me the problems that you students are having? Don't you think that some of the problems might be related to students? How are you going to change the school?)

Do students feel that they have influence over team decisions? Are students listened to in conversation with adults? How often do adults use the abstract concepts in order to control student behavior? Do adults intimidate students with the use of big words? Do adults address their questions to other adults in the group? Do adults attempt to patronize students in their interactions with them?

A team can only provide leadership to local change efforts if it can master some of the hard issues of interracial and intergenerational conflict within itself. It is for this reason that team selection and preparation requires a focus on these issues in intellectual orientation, values and behaviors. If potential team members appear inadequate or incompatible on these dimensions they should be screened out. Of course, they may participate in later training, but not as part of the politically vulnerable leadership cadre.

In addition to the training focus upon values and styles, members of the change-agent team or cadre need to develop both personal and political trust in one another. This trust can be based upon several factors: (1) personal respect and loyalty, although not necessarily great affection; (2) an ability to predict others' actions; and (3) an expectation that others share common goals and will work toward them. Trust of these sorts often permit members to work with one another in the face of occasional tension and misunderstanding. One mechanism for developing such trust is the traditional form of the t-group, or feedback training group. In such a training opportunity members could explore their personal styles and the meaning these styles have for themselves and other people. The focus of such encounter sessions should not be on personal insight development, but on the increased cooperative ability of a group to work together. Increased personal and group trust in integrated task activity is perhaps the most important outcome.

With competent leadership, members could use this learning environment for learning about and practicing other basic skills. Sharing perspectives on the issues, skill development in the areas of diagnosis and planning, in client and constituency development, in negotiations and coalition formation, and in training and organizing others seem most crucial. When skill development activities are done for all members of a team or cadre together, in the same place at the same time, the process of learning together becomes an extra bonus. Typically this process has the added outcome of drawing a group together, in that members know more about each others' strengths and weaknesses, and have come to maturity together. Of course practice sessions of a variety of sorts fulfill many of these same objectives. To the extent that a team or cadre together goes through any or many of the other training episodes discussed throughout this manual, it can take advantage of these processes of learning together.

Any group--a team of consultants or a cadre of internal activists--needs time to process its own activities, to debrief its field work, to provide feedback on members' performance, and to oil the gears of cooperative endeavor. Although not a training activity, per se, time must be taken for continual processing as a team or cadre goes about its regular business.

We have stressed the necessity that a consultant or consultant team stay in close contact with its client or constituency. The same principal is vital for an internal cadre: to the extent such a cadre gets special training and privileges, and feels it has outstanding ideas for changing everyone else, it can become isolated and alienated from peers and colleagues within the school or community. This phenomenon must be avoided at all costs, for it tends to erode the legitimacy as well as potency of local change agents. Training programs cognizant of this problem can insure that trainees re-enter their local constituent groups several times during training. As the cadre debriefs their re-entry experiences and problems they can share and plan ways to overcome the alienation of elitism.

Follow-up Activities

Often inadequate attention and resources are committed to follow-up events that seek to implement innovations and change activities over a substantial period of time. Workshops, one-shot consultations and brief training programs often leave students, parents, teachers and administrators floundering amid new ideas, confused and unclear about a programmatic thrust, and desperately seeking support and encouragement for desired change.

The attempt to develop a longer-term consultant relationship involves the danger that local systems will become dependent upon the resources of external consultants and fail to create new resources of their own. Any consultant or change agent should be sensitive to this issue and aid school members to build new internal resources. This necessity creates the demand that educators and students discover roles for themselves as change agents, that local cadres form to prosecute change ideas and that structures are created to support these local change agent teams. Ultimately, that is where ongoing resources for local change must be found or created.

Change agents and consultants must be particularly sensitive and committed to developing internal new leadership to help local schools and communities carry out their own change activities over time. The establishment of a local cadre or change-agent team is an obvious first step in this direction; it starts to replace the external resource with local and internal talent. It is also a direct follow-up to our discussions of an internal cadre for change.

In addition to the development of these resources, new structures or mechanisms through which these persons can work are required. For instance, organizing committees to focus on specific change programs and procedures helps set the environment for collaboration within issue oriented coalitions. It also provides structures that consultants can work with and support between and following workshops and specific training sessions. A committee's activities can be described easily in terms of specific objectives that implement the more broadly stated goals of the eradication of racism and youth oppression. The list of potentially working groups is by no means exhausted by the list of examples below.

Shared power committee: This group could work on procedures for electing students and educators to a legitimate decision-making group that will deal with such issues as the hiring and firing of teachers, teacher tenure and promotions, and control over the school budget. The outcome could be a representative group of students, teachers and administrators as school decision-makers. It might or might not include parents or members of the community in this model. This group will have to work out strategies for getting such power and for maintaining strong constituency links.

Curriculum committee: This committee could be responsible for designing and implementing new courses, including courses in the history of minorities, local politics and problems and human relations. It could be responsible for submitting ideas and budgets to the shared power group for the implementation of such courses. It could push for the financing of retreats, cross-age teaching programs, and other kinds of special student and faculty interests that have high educational pay-off.

Student Court: This group could work out grievance procedures for students concerned with the protection of their constitutional and political rights. It could also be involved in making up rules and regulations and bringing them before the shared power body for ratification. It should be particularly concerned with justice for minorities, who so often have had their constitutional rights abridged and violated in schools.

Anti-racism committee: This committee could explore and design programs to reduce the existence of racism in all parts of the school and community structure and operations. It could start with the list identified on page 28 of this manual, use the new programs developed on page 29, and monitor the processes of change over time.

Continuing resource committee: This committee could aid the others and the overall change process by continuing to identify and secure new personnel or material resources that were deemed necessary. A special committee of this sort could act as an aid and a spur to all the others.

In order for follow-up to be effective, it is likely that the consultant or change agent will have to help each committee develop its patterns of leadership and working relations. Apparently simple problems in the division of labor and the coordination of committee activities often lead to the downfall of implementation programs. Each committee ought to have clear goals and procedures with regard to:

- fixed time, date and place for meetings
- specific objectives to be accomplished at each meeting

- fixed homework assignments for each member on the committee in preparation for the next meeting
- fixed time, date and place where the committee can meet with the consultant for continued input after or in workshops or training events.

The leadership for such committees may come from any status group in the school, students or community members as well as faculty or administrative personnel. Especially the chairmen, but other members as well, ought to be remunerated for their service in helping to "run the school." Students should not be exploited in this procedure, nor should their participation be seen merely as a "learning activity." They should receive course credit or actually be paid for their service to the school; the same is true for community members. Professional staff should have their other work obligations adjusted so that committee activities are seen as appropriate and legitimate parts of one's daily work—not "tacked on" at the end of a hard day or week. These procedures help support the notion that these mechanisms are real, not token gestures or attempts at cop-outs. They also help to build in these procedures as part of regular institutional arrangements.

If a workshop is used as a one-time event, then a follow-up of this initiating activity might involve planning and implementing other workshops and conferences. Most persons just do not learn complex new skills in a short time, and considerable practice, reinforcement and on-the-job experimentation usually is necessary. Thus, continuing workshops and training events occurring after some period of readjustment to the school situation are vital elements in a middle or long range change program. In addition to providing skill training, it is also important for the consultant or change agent to be available to provide ongoing emotional as well as political support to local change agents. Change-making can be a lonely as well as risky process, and those who are on the front lines often need to know that there are others who have been there before, that someone will "hold their hand" once in a while, and that there are people to talk with when the going gets rough.

The culture of the training workshop is not the same as the culture of the ongoing school or community, and when the two mix inappropriately disaster can result. Change agents who have received workshop training

have been known to re-enter their old environs so full of excitement that they threaten and alienate their former colleagues and are rejected by them. The process of re-entry is not an easy one; neither is the process of transferring learnings from one situation to another; nor is it easy to engage former colleagues in new ways, with new skills, through changed personal and role behaviors. In all these arenas consultant help to the changed change agent will be an important component of the insights and reality planning they can embody as they return to their own institutions and try to actualize their plans for change.

Finally, it will be important to think about ways by which the change process can be taken out of the hands of a few people trying new things and be institutionalized in the organization's operating structures and procedures. When new procedures are no longer tolerated as deviances, however interesting, nor as innovations, however exciting, but as actual alterations in institutional practice, then institutional change can be said to have occurred. Often this step is neglected; but it is the most important step. It marks the transition from rhetoric and planning to behavior, from experimentation to implementation. Obviously, the ongoing commitment of educational leaders or managers is vital for the financial resources and other supports that permit follow-up to continue without unnecessary organizational pain and disruption. Such support cannot be counted on automatically; the change agent should be sensitive to educators' fallback to earlier priorities when the urgency of a crisis appears to have passed. Then the team may have to commit itself to change in the face of meager resources and support.

Training episodes that focus on implementation and follow-up.

Training episodes in this category focus on the process of re-entry and the possibility of maintaining support for people who have developed new skills and are trying to practice them in their institutional environs. As we have noted, one important element of this activity is the provision of emotional and political support; a second major element has to do with ways of hastening the implementation and institutionalization of changes in the ongoing life of the organization.

One helpful training device may be to create force fields that reflect and try to manipulate the problems and conditions of re-entry and change. If one starts with the force field technique as presented on page 83, participants can move, individually or in a group, to considering and planning ways of altering the current balance in the field. One way to plan alteration is to increase the positive forces pushing for change. A second way is to decrease the negative forces pushing against change. A third alternative may be to add new forces on the map, ones that can appear on the positive side. For instance, we can continue with the example described before, and plan strategically to alter that force field in the following ways:

Positive forces that can be strengthened:

Superintendent's continuing public commitment to quality interracial education

Media campaign to stress positive advantages of certain anti-racist programs in the curriculum

Negative forces that can be lessened:

Involvement of parents in planning out-of-school programs

Removal of a principal (or assistant) who has subtly supported unequal education and behaved in obviously racist ways

Potentially positive forces that can be added:

Court action mandating immediate desegregation

Federal funds for an innovative middle school program

Most people plan for change by immediately attempting to increase the strength of positive forces without considering reduction of the negative forces at all. It is most likely that increased pressure on the positive side also will increase pressure on the negative side unless specific attempts are made to prevent this from happening. Wise planning should augment positive forces while at the same time seeking to reduce negative ones.

All these new determinations help transfer the force-field diagram from a diagnostic instrument into a tool for planning strategy. Each of the forces noted can now be examined further to see which actually makes how much of a difference, and how easy or hard it is to manipulate each one. Based upon these additional considerations, one can decide which forces to try to alter, and which efforts then need to be built into a systematic plan for ongoing change. The reworked force field might look like this.

Change Goal: Reducing educational racism

<u>Forces pushing for change</u>	<u>Forces pushing against change</u>
1. Court pressure	7. Legacy of old patterns and assumptions
2. Federal funding opportunities	8. Community resistance
3. Positive position of school leaders	9. Uninvolved and resistant groups of faculty and staff
4. Community pressure	10. Student fears
5. Program to involve students and parents	
6. Media campaign	

Questions of the following sort can be raised about this diagram: Which of the forces numbered from 1-10 are most likely to make a real difference if altered? Which of 1-10 are most feasible to alter given the resources you can muster? What program would you design to alter each of 1-10? When these three questions have been answered we have in front of us the beginning components of a systematic plan for change. When tight planning of this sort is done, it is more likely that such plans will be followed in practice, and that people will actually do what they have planned together to do. Moreover, a realistic appraisal of the forces at work, and ways of altering them, insures that change efforts are more likely to be realistic when actually tried. The reader or participants in a training program can try this exercise for their own community or create their own force fields with unique change goals and field of forces.

Another training device may be to create role playing scenes that mirror the reality of trying to work with colleagues in the parent institution. Some of the following scenes may be helpful to try:

A principal asks you, a teacher, to report to the faculty the things you have been doing in this workshop, or "whatever it is."

You are a teacher who wants to set up a program in racism awareness training for the white staff members of this interracial school. Who do you present this idea to first? How do you go about getting support for your idea?

You are a student involved in being trained as a school change agent and want to get 10 of your friends together so you can talk with them about an evaluation of the faculty. How do you organize them to meet?

A school board member has heard how teachers and students aired their complaints and really levelled with one another at a weekend retreat. He asked you, as one of the students involved, to come to the next board meeting and describe what happened and what, if any, good came of it. He especially wants to know how to build something like a grievance system into the ongoing workings of the school. What do you say to him? What do you present to the board?

You are an outside consultant who is meeting with the school's internal change team for the first time this fall, two months after a highly successful workshop that you directed. How do you help them air their pain, trials, successes and failures since then?

You are the consultant to this internal change team and one member calls you to say she is getting "messed over" by the principal. He has refused her permission to speak to the faculty, has indicated that he disapproves of the way she communicates with students in the lunchroom, and is questioning her classroom work. She wants to know what to do.

You are a community member who went to a workshop with the principal, as part of a proposed team. The principal calls and indicates that he has had a hard time getting community support for the idea of a local school-community. He asks you to form a community group to be integrated into such a local change team. What do you do first? Then what?

Some especially interesting designs can be used to go beyond the normal parameters of role playing. For instance, a workshop design might include a guerilla theatre episode related to re-entry or implementation. For instance, trainees or participants could be presented with letters or reports of apparent community opposition to their program while they were still at the workshop. Then they would have to decide while they were there how they could meet such opposition. Unbeknownst to the participants, the resistance would only be staged, but the confrontation with apparent opposition could surface real issues and alternative ways of dealing with these issues in re-entry, opposition and the implementation of change. This technique goes beyond typical role-playing in that most persons would not know it was only a staged situation.

In several cases these same issues can be met by throwing the last day or days of a workshop open to the public and to interested but non-attending members of the faculty, administration, student body and community. Initial trainees could have the responsibility of preparing and

running the design for that invitational session. Such a design promotes the problem of re-entry where it can be worked on under supervision; it also gives trainees an opportunity to practice change-making with their constituencies under supervision; and it also involves some of the later targets in any early stage of the change process.

The problems of implementation go beyond the facilitation and preparation for re-entry. Planning no doubt helps, but followup consultation or feedback sessions are likely to be even more helpful. A training or change program ought to specify times and places when those involved in change efforts will get back together to give each other the support--in terms of new informative inputs, confrontations, or emotional or political resources--that can help them carry through to the implementation stage of their change efforts. Institutions are built for stability, and they resist and wear down efforts to alter their basic structures and processes. Only with continuing support systems will persons be able to alter those aspects of our educational institutions that depress the human qualities of all who work or learn within them.

V. Where and How, or Whom?

In this manual we have described some issues and programs that lead to both the necessity and possibility of retraining educational consultants and change agents. The reader who has found these ideas provocative, instructive or appealing undoubtedly will want to know more regarding how he or she can get in touch with resources that can help him or her achieve retraining.

There are no easy answers to that kind of question. In the first place many of the retraining activities can be self-taught, and the serious reader can join with several colleagues to lead each other through some of the enclosed activities. Persons trying this tack should feel free to write or call the authors for reactions to their experiences, written materials, and so on. But further, some persons may want a training program of their own, one built for themselves, their consultant group, their interest group, their school system. We refer this population to the third volume in this series of resource manuals: Resources for School Change III: A Manual on Issues and Strategies in Resource Utilization.

The authors of that manual have tried to deal directly with the problems of manpower resources for retraining programs. In it they also have laid out the general issues in secondary schools and secondary school change that we have discussed here. Moreover, they have addressed some of the special issues involved in calling upon consultants for assistance. Finally, they have identified a number of consultant or change agent groups that specialize in or have available training programs in the areas addressed in this manual. That list should be consulted by the inquiring reader; we suspect he or she will find it eminently useful in the search for relevant resources for change.

References

Each of the issues dealt with in this manual has been explicated and discussed in greater detail in other works and materials. For the reader or practitioner who wishes to go further we have included below an illustrative listing of additional references. We also have noted some especially good films or film strips.

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Credits for Designs and Training Activities

The data tables on page 16 were developed by the staff of the High School Research Project of the Educational Change Team, funded through NIMH Grant RO-1-MH-18014-01.

The individual/group collage on whiteness discussed on page 27 was developed by Pat Bidol, of New Perspectives on Race, Detroit, Michigan.

The data table on page 43 was developed by the staff of a pilot project in school change supported by Ford Foundation Grant 680-0566A.

The case study on conflict in the basketball team on pages 44-45 was developed by Will Smith, University of California at San Diego.

The exercise on splitting into separate groups and then seeking coalitions on page 49 was first reported to us by Barry Oshry, Boston, Massachusetts.

The exercise on "What adults think of students"... etc. on pages 56-57 was first reported to us by Fred Hill, New York City.

The questions on pages 77-79 were derived from ones developed or used in high school research by the High School Research Project of the Educational Change Team. This work was supported by NIMH Grant RO-1-MH-18014-01.

Most of the remaining exercises were, to the best of our knowledge, either developed or modified by the authors, or so much in the public domain that their original source is unknown to us.